IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

DOCUMENTS OF THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY (NORTH KURDISTAN - TURKEY)

Theses On the International Situation and the Situation in North Kurdistan/ Turkey and Our Tasks...

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BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

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Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples...

BOLSHEVIK PARTY (NORTH KURDISTAN-TURKEY) HELD ITS SIXTH CONGRESS SUCCESSFULLY!

21ST CENTURY WILL BE THE CENTURY OF BOLSHEVISM!

Organize in Bolshevik ranks against imperialist barbarism! Barbarism or socialism! Ya Barbarlık, Ya Sosyalizm! Yan Barbari, Yan Sosyalizm!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples... Communist sympathizers all over the world... Comrades!...

Our Bolshevik Party held her VI. Congress triumphantly!

We are the Bolshevik Party of North Kurdistan-Turkey! We are a party upholding the flag of Bolshevism all over the world. We are a Bolshevik Party showing the way to the liberation of mankind from capitalist barbarism, having a correct line, its deeds corresponding with its words...

Our sixth congress will be the starting point of a new leap forward! To solve the huge tasks we set ourselves, our congress adopted the following resolutions in the light of the science of Marxism-Leninism, thereby deepening our line:

THE FUNDAMENTAL TASK IS TO ORGANIZE THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

In order to reach this goal, our sixth congress emphasized once more that the key link to grasp in the struggle for advancing the international Labor movement, for its unification on a revolutionary basis is the creation of unity of the World Marxist-Leninist Movement. To reach this significant goal, it is necessary to unite the world Marxist-Leninist movement on correct fundamental political positions.

Our sixth congress assessed the developments in the international plane as follows in the fundamental political document it adopted:

THE WORLD IS UNDER THE DOMINATION OF IMPERIALISM...

Contrary to the recent theory advocated by a series of bourgeois publicists, and opportunists figuring under the name of Marxism-Leninism, the internationa-

lization of capital and production is not a new phenomenon. Likewise the globalization theories, blowing in the same horn, are nothing but a repetition of the view that the fundamental features of imperialism had changed. These are absurd positions. For the fundamental features and contradictions of imperialism analyzed in the Leninist theory of imperialism are still valid without change.

In the last years of the 20th century, the total domination of imperialism marks the present world. By total domination it should not be understood that imperialists are almighty, can do whatever they want, etc., but that the *entire world* is factually a *part of the imperialist economic system.*

IMPERIALISM IS BARBARISM!

• This fact means at the same time that in a series of countries under the rule of imperialism, politics is dominated by total reaction and in very many areas by open terrorist dictatorship, i.e. fascism.

• This fact means that by virtue of the change in balance of power, a new division of the world has set imperialist, reactionary, counter-revolutionary wars on the agenda. Today unjust, reactionary wars are waged in many places, chauvinism is stoked for imperialist profits and peoples are incited against each other. Imperialism tramples the right of nations to self-determination, i.e., their right to secede and set up their own state, under foot.

• Domination of imperialism means male domination, means the suppression of feminine gender.

• Domination of imperialism means the darkening of the future of working youth.

• Domination of imperialism means wasteful plunder of natural resources for profit, destruction of life bases.

• Imperialism means, if it is not overthrown with the revolution, steering towards the destruction of mankind in barbarism.

THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO IMPERIALISM IS THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION! BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM!

The only alternative to imperialism is Socialism and Communism. So long as imperialist system is not over-thrown with the proletarian world revolution, there will be no liberation from barbarism for the mankind. By a very crude classification, socialist revolutions in deve-loped imperialist countries and anti-imperialist-demo-cratic revolutions under proletarian leadership in depen-

dent countries, which will develop with different tempi to socialist revolutions, are direct elements of the proletarian world revolution.

THE MAIN TASK TODAY IS THE BUILDING OF BOLSHEVIK PARTIES TO LEAD THESE REVOLUTIONS!

Today we must unremittingly, fearlessly, patiently, with a systematic, intense agitation and propaganda carry into the working class –the real subject of the revolution– and into the toiling masses, the advanced elements of the working class, their class-conscious sections organized in the Communist Party, the workers and the toiling masses united around the Communist Party, the fact that Communism is a bogy only for the owners of the means of production, and for workers and toilers the banner of liberation; that it was not socialism that collapsed in 1990, but the social-fascist dictatorship, a caricature of socialism, realized by revisionist bourgeois pioneers; that real socialism is the dictatorship of workers and toilers over the bourgeoisie etc. That is the most important revolutionary task today. The death bells for imperialism will toll when we fulfill this task. Sooner or later, we Communists will fulfill this revolutionary task successfully.

THE REVOLUTION IN NORTH KURDISTAN-TURKEY IS AN INSEPARABLE ELEMENT OF THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

North Kurdistan-Turkey is a backward capitalist country dependent on imperialism. Its economy and also particularly its superstructure is influenced by feudal remnants.

North Kurdistan-Turkey is at the stage of anti-imperialist democratic people's revolution. Based on the basic alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party and the hegemony of the proletariat, this revolution will overthrow the fascist dictatorship, realize the independence from imperialism and the liquidation of dependent capitalism and feudal remnants, eliminate national oppression and create the prerequisites under which the oppressed nations can exercise their right to secession freely, realize the equality of all nationalities and erect the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants.

In North Kurdistan-Turkey, the objective prerequisites are present for passing over through permanent class struggle to socialist revolution and accomplishing socialist construction successfully under proletarian leader-ship a short time after the democratic revolution. To represent that the fascist state of the Turkish Republic could through some reforms somehow obtain a democra-

tic structure means turning the facts of the revolutionary class struggle upside down.

There is only one way to win democracy and pave the way for the socialist revolution: the violent revolution! Democracy can be achieved only by destroying the present fascist state to its foundations through revolution, and achieved will it be!

The main task is to organize the working class to guarantee the success of the revolution. The main task is to win the vanguard of the working class through work in factories and to make the party cells in factories the basis of party organization. In this way factories will turn into bastions of the Communist Party.

In our work in the unions we will, beside creating Communist union fractions, guide the organization of Strike and Struggle Committees, in which all union and non-union workers can participate, to prevent yellow, reformist, religious and fascist union leaders from stabbing the class struggle to death from behind.

NORTH KURDISTAN-TURKEY IS A PRISON OF NATIONS!

The most developed struggle of the toiling masses in North Kurdistan-Turkey today is the national liberation struggle in North Kurdistan. In class terms this is a peasant struggle. It takes place under leadership of the bourgeois nationalist organization of PKK. Momentarily this struggle occupies the most central place in politics in North Kurdistan-Turkey. At present it is officially declared that this struggle under leadership of the PKK is not being waged to overthrow the Turkish Republic, but for the reason of reaching an agreement with her. On the part of the ruling classes of the Turkish Republic this is a reactionary, counter-revolutionary war, a genocide, and with regard to the PKK it is a reformist national war. The PKK's struggle proceeds on a reformist basis. It is not revolutionary. But still this struggle has a just aspect which is directed against the national oppression, and this aspect is to be supported.

We Communists know, advocate and struggle for the creation of the preconditions under which the Kurdish nation can freely exercise her right to secede, and they can not be created by an agreement with the Turkish republic, under the conditions of its existence, but only through its destruction with the revolution, under relations of the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants.

In this struggle the general staff, the proletarian party that guides the common revolution, will be our party, the Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey).

THE MAIN TASK OF THE DAY IS TO TRAIN ORGANIZERS

Under present conditions where the fundamental political line of the Party has already been created, organizational building is decisive. In so far the cadres are of decisive importance. Whether the political line is carried out in practice, whether the vanguard of the proletariat is really won for the Communist Party or not depends above all on their work.

Our current task is to train organizer cadres who have the ability to work on their own primarily in the sphere of organization, to create and to secure revolutionary organizations in the working class (in factories and unions) which form the organizational scaffold, and over the factory cells to anchor the organization in the working class!

Selecting the right cadres means today in particular finding out those cadres among the available who can fulfill the above-mentioned tasks. In this connection selections will be made on the basis of following decisive criteria: Ideological firmness, determination in the face of the class enemy, loyalty to the party, closest links with the masses, ability to work on his/her own, to make decisions, discipline and Bolshevik firmness!

THE STAND ON KEMALIST REVOLUTION AND KEMALIST STATE POWER IS A FUNDAMENTAL CRITERION THAT SEPARATES MARXIST-LENINISTS FROM ALL OPPORTUNISTS!

In this fundamental question our sixth congress passed a resolution on the assessment of the question of Kemalism after deep-going investigations and analyses on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism prior to the sixth congress, thus enriching the Party's programmatic views still more and freeing the fundamentally correct views of comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya from subordinate errors.

THE KEMALIST REVOLUTION IS A REVOLUTION OF THE TOP LAYER!

The Kemalist revolution took place in a country where the industrial proletariat and its organization was rela-tively weak and where the country was exposed to the danger of being transformed to a colony of the imperialists.

The Kemalist revolution prevented the country from becoming a colony. But it never gave up its links with imperialism completely. In so far the Kemalist revolution was no consistently anti-imperialist revolution. Al-though the real army of the revolution consisted of workers, peasants and toilers, it was the

Turkish national bourgeoisie that left its mark on the revolution, wanting to free itself from foreign yoke and have its own independent state.

The Kemalist movement was from the beginning a bourgeois movement hostile to workers and peasants, frenziedly attacking the developing struggle of workers, peasants and oppressed nations. It was a fascist military dictatorship.

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Besides, our congress confirmed and further developed the Party line in the following important questions:

• Our congress discussed once more the policy of re-alignment in the work of our party abroad as an expression of proletarian internationalism in practice. It was determined that the main body of the organizations of our party carrying out a regional activity abroad, must participate in the work of creating Bolshevik Parties in these countries, and in the long-term will be absorbed in these parties. In the past period of work the correctness of this policy was proved also by practice, and in the period of work lying before us its transformation into practice is a task to tackle.

• The positions of comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya on the question of fascism in Turkey were analyzed once more on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism and confirmed as correct Marxist-Leninist views.

• Our congress discussed some paragraphs of the Party statute and made some changes corresponding to the present situation of our party.

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Comrades!

The sixth congress of our party has set us significant tasks. Our congress calls upon all our comrades to work still more devotedly to fill our Marxist-Leninist party line in all areas of the class struggle with life. This is a call to raise the struggle for uniting the vanguard with the working class.

Each and every comrade must answer the question "Who is the party?" with "I am the party"! Each and every comrade must behave accordingly and wage the class struggle for "conquest of the sun" (N. Hikmet) to the best of his/her ability.

WORKERS GROANING UNDER THE BRUTAL EXPLOITATION OF CAPITALIST BARBARISM!

Our Bolshevik Party calls upon you:

Stand up to advance on the path our party shows you, organize under the flag of Bolshevism and abolish the exploitation of labor! Rise up against the fascist

dictatorship under the slogan of "We are the producers, we will also be the governers". Oppose the yellow, reformist, religious and fascist union leaders. Set up red union fractions! Set up factory cells of the Communist Party in the factories! Conquer the factories and under the leadership of our Party raze the fascist dictatorship to the ground. Establish the revolutionary-democratic power of workers and peasants! Progress to socialism!

This struggle is your struggle! Do not remain behind, come forward, take the vanguard and leadership role of the revolution in your hand!

POOR PEASANTS IN NORTH KURDISTAN-TURKEY!

Our party calls upon you:

Our party wants to see you too in the ranks of the struggle against fascist dictatorship.

Come and organize under the umbrella of the party. Together we will overthrow this fascist order. Only then will you be free from oppression and exploitation of the big landowners and landlords. Only then will you be free from the tyranny of Agas and Sheikhs. Only then will you have the possibility of freely using the land the revolution wrested from the Sheikhs and Agas! March on the traitors, collaborators and fascism!

WOMEN WORKERS AND TOILING WOMEN OF ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES!

If you do not want to remain the scorned upon inferior oppressed gender before the law and in real life,

if you do not want to suffer sexual harassment, beatings, violence and rape at home, on the street, on the job,

if you want equal pay for equal work,

if you want to achieve the socialization of housework and upbringing of children,

if you want to see the unjust war in North Kurdistan finished, and stand for entire equality of the Kurdish nation and other nationalities,

then organize in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party which has inscribed on its banner the fight against oppression and exploitation, against male domination and the oppression of women, which combats male chauvinism in society and in its own ranks!

Only then will this system of male domination be overthrown, will women workers and toiling women break their chains and pave the way leading to real freedom. In this struggle we have nothing to lose but beatings, gender oppres-

sion, exploitation, but we have a new world to win without exploitation and oppression!

**OUR HOPE FOR THE FUTURE —
WORKING-CLASS, TOILING AND STUDENT YOUTH!**

The fascist dictatorship has nothing to offer you but unemployment, work under worst conditions for minimum wage without union organization. You have no possibility of learning a profession, no education possibilities. This is an anti-democratic education system in which only those have the right to education who own money. This fascist order offers you no future. However you should be our torch carrier of the future! The future will be built with your hands!

Therefore organize in the ranks of the Bolshevik Youth! Take the future into your own hands! Overthrow this fascist system! Throw this bloody darkness into the museum of antiquities! Establish the worker-peasant dictatorship along with our workers and oppressed peasants to move forward on the way to the classless socialist society without exploitation.

Take part in the struggle with your whole energy!

WORKERS AND TOILERS OF THE KURDISH NATION!

The war of liberation against the fascist state of the Turkish Republic will be won only through victory of the common revolution of workers and peasants in North Kurdistan and Turkey!

Therefore organize under the umbrella of Partiya Bolşewik (ya Kurdistan'a Bakur) [Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan)] founded under the leadership of our united party, and sister organization of the Bolshevik Party (Turkey). Hold in from wasting your whole energy under reformist leadership, take the gun into your hands, and plant the flag of revolution on castles and mountain tops of North Kurdistan! Only then will the conditions be created for the real end of national oppression; the Kurdish nation will then be able to exercise her right to secede and set up her own state if she wishes.

**WORKERS AND TOILERS OF THE NATIONAL
MINORITIES IN NORTH KURDISTAN-TURKEY!**

Organize under the roof of our party! Only then will the basis be created for abolishing national, confessional and religious suppression and for creating bases of life fit for human beings!

WORKERS AND TOILERS!

The sixth congress of our party has secured the basis for the victory of Bolshevism against imperialist barbarism in the 21st Century. Forward to unite under the leader-ship of our party, to hoist the flag of Bolshevism in the cities, villages, and mountains!

► Forward to throw the fascist dictatorship to the garbage dump of history, to crown the victory of Bolshevism!

► Throw Yourself into the Sea of Struggle!

► Long Live Bolshevism!

► Bıji Bolşewizm!

► Long Live our Bolshevik Party!

► Bıji Partiya me ya Bolşewik!

► Death to Imperialist Barbarism!

► Bımre Barbariye Emperyalizme!

► Long Live Socialism/Communism!

► Long Live the Proletarian World Revolution!

► Bolshevism Will Conquer!

► Long Live Our Sixth Congress!

► Long Live the Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan/Turkey)!

May 1997

THESES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE SITUATION IN NORTH KURDISTAN/ TURKEY AND OUR TASKS...

THE WORLD UNDER THE DOMINATION OF IMPERIALISM

1 In the last years of the 20th century, the *total domination of imperialism* marks the present world. *By total domination it should not be understood that imperialists are almighty, can do whatever they like etc., but that the entire world is factually a part of the imperialist economic system.* There are no states outside the world imperialist system anymore.

2 So was the situation also at the beginning of the twentieth century as imperialism emerged and gained control of the world, as the world was divided among imperialist great powers. But with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia 1917 the situation changed radically, the proletariat, having conquered State power, tore Russia out of the world imperialist system, and the domination of imperialism was overthrown on one sixth of the earth. Even though only in one country, a socialist world emerged as an alternative to the imperialist world. In the struggle of the two systems emerged for some non-socialist, bourgeois forces going out of the national liberation struggles against imperialist colonialism the possibility of acting independently from imperialism.

3 The tremendous successes of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the fact that imperialist system had driven the world to fascism and to the Second World War, were the causes for the upswing in the will and struggle of the international proletariat and the working people for freedom, democracy and socialism. After the anti-fascist victories at the end of the Second World War won also by the tremendous efforts of the Soviet Union, democratic governments emerged in a series of East European countries under the leadership of the proletariat, developing in short time to proletarian dictatorships. In 1949 people's democratic dictatorship was established in China under the leadership of the proletariat. In this way quite a few countries besides the Soviet Union ceased to be a part of the imperialist world. Vis-à-vis the imperialist camp emerged a strong socialist camp, consisting of governments set up under the lea-dership of the Communist and worker's parties. The possibilities of some non-socialist, petty bourgeois, national-bourgeois forces to pursue a line independent of imperialism became greater.

4 The existence of the socialist camp was not of long duration. Revisionism, having shown itself also before the Second World War both in individual Communist parties as well as in the Communist International, the world Communist Party, as revisionist errors and deviations, but overcome under the leadership of Stalin with a determined and permanent struggle, gained influence again after the Second World War in a series of Communist parties. In Yugoslavia the Tito revisionism became prevailing. With the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, the revisionists in the CPSU established their final domination in the Soviet Union, the most important bastion of the socialist camp. Under the leadership of the Khrushchev clique the Soviet Union gradually changed its character. The dictatorship of the proletariat was liquidated step by step and converted into the dictatorship of the revisionist bureaucratic State bourgeoisie. In the second half of the sixties the process of degeneration was completed and the old socialist Soviet Union became a social-imperialist great power.

5 The big majority of the Communist parties followed the CPSU and degenerated with time. Parallel to the developments in the Soviet Union, all other states of the socialist camp in Eastern Europe with the exception of Albania underwent a similar process of degeneration.

6 Two states were left opposing the process of degeneration: The People's Republic of China and Albania. Against the revisionist theses of the CPSU the Communist Parties of these two countries waged an opposition essentially defending the positions of Marxism-Leninism. But in their fight against modern revisionism these parties also committed important errors in some questions. The common socialist camp of the past split. After the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the states of Eastern Europe following her, this camp lived on in the figure of China and Albania. While the overwhelming majority of the Communist and worker's parties, forming a part of the socialist camp in the past, sided with modern revisionism during this split, only a few old Communist and worker's parties and young Marxist-Leninist parties emerging from the split in the revisionist parties rallied around the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania leading the resistance against modern revisionism. The People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China would also degenerate in the second half of the seventies.

7 That part of the old socialist camp acting in unison with the Soviet Union developed into a social-imperialist camp of a new type. This new growing imperialist great power began an extensive contention for world hegemony

with the classical imperialist powers in the name of the proletariat, national liberation, progress and socialism. This contention for world hegemony between the imperialist camp and the social-imperialist camp marked the developments in the world for a certain time. In this contention the Soviet Union combined its neo-colonialist imperialist policies with socialist phrases. In the country itself a fascist administration with a socialist vocabulary, i.e. a social-fascist administration was practised under the guise of the "dictatorship of the whole people".

8 This contention among imperialists themselves ended with the victory of the classic imperialist camp over the social-imperialist camp, with a collapse of the social-imperialist camp. In all former member countries of the social-imperialist camp the modern-revisionist forces with a socialist or Communist veil had to make room for openly imperialist-capitalist forces.

9 In China proletarian rule was overthrown after the conquest of power by modern revisionism of the "Three Worlds" type. After also the PLA (Party of Labor of Albania), which insisted on upholding Marxism-Leninism as the last party in power, capitulated to imperialist and revisionist pressure in Albania, there was no State left in the world which is not under the rule of imperialism.

10 States like(*) Cuba, the People's Republic of Korea, Vietnam, China, which still claim to be socialist, are, although there are certain differences among them, no states outside the world imperialist system, but a part of it. The former Soviet Union and other states of the former social-imperialist camp under its leadership were part and parcel of the imperialist world anyhow.

IMPERIALISM MEANS BARBARISM!

11 The domination of imperialism means:

► that capitalism, which once played a revolutionary role against feudalism in connection with the development of the productive forces, reached its highest monopolistic level, has historically used up its revolutionary ammunition worldwide, and a handful of monopolies established their domination

(*) As is well known, the Mengistu regime, a lackey of Russian social-imperialism in Ethiopia, was overthrown in 1991 by an anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution under the leadership of a party calling itself Marxist-Leninist. Through this revolution Ethiopia broke away from the imperialist system, albeit only for a short while. In the course of developments the new regime has, through the relationships it entered into with imperialist great powers, exemplified by the invasion of Somalia, opened Ethiopia for the exploitation of imperialist forces. In this connection it is not possible anymore to say Ethiopia is outside the imperialist system.

over the whole economy; that finance capital, emerging from the intertwining of industrial capital with bank capital, erected its absolute domination, and the export of capital became prevailing in comparison to the export of goods.

► that the division of the world among a few imperialist great powers according to their respective relative strength is completed and that a new division based on their changed relative strengths sets imperialist, reactionary, counter-revolutionary wars on the agenda;

► that the entire working population is exploited by a handful of imperialist great powers and the world is divided into "oppressor countries" making up a small minority of the world population, and "oppressed countries" in which live the majority of the world population;

► Imperialism means on the one hand trampling the right of the oppressed nations to secession (the right to self-determination) under foot, on the other hand stoking chauvinism and inciting the peoples against one another in the name of hypocritically defending this right for the love of imperialist profits.

► Imperialism also means total political reaction in all countries, it means open terroristic dictatorship, i.e. fascism in many regions.

► The domination of imperialism means carrying the principal contradictions of capitalism, i.e. the contradiction between the social character of production and the private ownership over the means of production, the contradiction between labor and capital, the contradiction between the exploiters and the exploited, to the extreme point beyond which the revolution begins. It means that the existing relations of production have become the decisive obstacle for the development of productive forces.

► The domination of imperialism means today concretely hunger death for millions of toilers in the world, loss of life and shelter for millions in reactionary, counter-revolutionary wars waged in the interests of imperialism, living in exile wretchedly.

The domination of imperialism means the domination of racism, fascism, religious reaction and reaction of all sorts.

The domination of imperialism means male domination, the oppression of the feminine gender.

The domination of imperialism means darkening the future of working youth.

Domination of imperialism means wasteful plunder of natural resources for profit, destruction of life bases.

Imperialism means, if it is not overthrown with the revolution, steering towards the destruction of mankind in barbarism.

Imperialism means barbarism!

THERE ARE NO ESSENTIAL CHANGES!

12 Since imperialism emerged and became prevailing, a series of concrete changes took place in the imperialist world. But its fundamental features as analyzed in Lenin's theory of imperialism still remain in force without change.

* In this connection revisionism of all hues developed the policy of dropping the imperialist system as a whole from the target of revolution and presenting some concrete changes as essential.

* Bernstein, the great-grandfather of revisionism, represented the view that capitalism, developing into monopolism, can pass over peacefully and through reforms to socialism.

* Kautsky represented the view that imperialism evolves to ultra-imperialism, which would make a peaceful, reformist transition to socialism possible.

* The Titoite revisionists maintained that a section of the bourgeoisie even came to the point of accepting socialism. They also represented theories of a peaceful-reformist transition. They upheld the view that one could even build socialism with a section of the bourgeoisie. The Chinese revisionists advocated the same. (Mao Zedong and the Marxist-Leninists under his leadership also represented wrong views in this connection for a while.)

* Modern revisionism of the Khrushchev type proclai-med that, as a result of the developments in the world, imperialism could be transformed to socialism through "peaceful competition" and via "parliamentary path" without having to resort to violent revolution; that the thesis of the inevitability of imperialist wars was outmoded etc., and that our blows should be directed not against the imperialist system as whole, but against the US imperialism, and even there only against its "aggressive and non-democratic sections" etc.

* The Three Worlds Theory was for the worldwide alliance of the "second and third world countries" with the proletariat and the oppressed peoples against US imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, which were declared to be the only main enemies, and regarded a section of the imperialist great powers and some lackey forces of imperialism as forces of the world revolution etc.

* Also the globalization theories pushed on the market recently, selling off the internationalization of capital and production as new facts, are usually int-

roduced as theories intermingled with positions representing that fundamental characteristics of imperialism had changed.

THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO IMPERIALISM IS THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION! BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM!

13 The only alternative to imperialism is socialism and Communism. As long as the imperialist system is not overthrown by the proletarian world revolution, there will be no liberation from barbarism for the mankind. All ideas upholding the reformability of imperialism are either conscious hypocrisy or great naivety.

14 The fundamental characteristics of our era have not changed. Our era is determined by imperialism and the fight to overthrow it. Our era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

15 The proletarian world revolution is, as the Great Proletarian October Revolution in Russia and subsequent proletarian revolutions showed, the resultant of different revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat, developing at different times in different forms and tempi in individual countries, breaking them away from the chains of imperialism depending on the socio-economic and cultural structure of the respective country and the international and national objective and subjective conditions.

The theory of Trotskyism, grasping the process of proletarian world revolution not as a resultant of the revolutions carried out in individual countries at different times and with different tempi, but as simultaneous revolutions in almost all imperialist countries, actually makes the proletarian world revolution impossible.

16 By a very crude classification, *socialist revolutions* in the developed imperialist countries and *anti-imperialist-democratic revolutions* under the leadership of the proletariat in the dependent countries developing with different tempi to socialist revolutions are direct components of the proletarian world revolution.

In addition, the *national liberation struggles* under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie in dependent countries can under certain conditions be allies of the proletarian world revolution. The pre-condition for this is the existence of a strong Communist movement, or better, the existence of a socialist State to support this liberation movement directly. Without this pre-condition the national liberation struggles under the leadership of

the bourgeoisie will reconcile with imperialism still in the course of struggle and cannot be allies of the world proletarian revolution.

Imperialist forces and the collaborators of imperialism can under no circumstances be considered as allies of the proletarian world revolution.

(Under certain extraordinary conditions [like the Anti-Hitler Coalition during the Second World War] temporary alliances can be concluded between the forces of proletarian world revolution and a part of the imperialist powers against the common enemy. But in these alliances the common enemy is not the imperialist system as a whole, but some sections of it.)

PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM

17 The imperialist system is deeply shaken by its internal contradictions, and as a result of these internal contradictions the revolution imposes itself as an objective necessity. The principal contradictions of the imperialist system leading to its revolutionary overthrow are the following:

* The antagonistic contradiction between labor and capital, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the imperialist, developed capitalist countries, this contradiction is solved with the socialist revolution. In backward, dependent countries, anti-imperialist democratic revolu-tions under the leadership of the proletariat will pave the way for solving this contradiction through socialist revolutions.

* The contradiction between the handful of oppressing imperialist powers on the one hand, and the toiling masses and all the oppressed of the oppressed countries on the other. This contradiction is solved in the backward dependent countries by anti-imperialist-democratic revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat.

These two principal contradictions of imperialism are antagonistic contradictions between the revolution and the counter-revolution. The imperialist system has another contradiction "within the counter-revolution" which under certain circumstances can facilitate the revolution. This is;

* The contradiction among imperialist states and monopolies themselves. This contradiction prevents imperialists from acting in unison against the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, dividing and sometimes even leading to wars among them. The proletariat and the peoples can take advantage of this contradiction in the interests of the revolution if they are strong.

(Besides these internal contradictions of the imperialist system there is under the conditions of the existence of one or more socialist States the principal contradiction between the imperialist and socialist systems. If this contradicti-

on is present, then it also plays a decisive role in the development of the proletarian world revolution. Under the present conditions, where there is no socialist state in the world, it is wrong to speak of a principal contradiction between the imperialist and socialist systems as a practical factor of the process of proletarian world revolution.)

PROLETARIAT ALONE IS THE REALLY REVOLUTIONARY CLASS CONSISTENT THROUGH TO THE END! IT IS THE VANGUARD AND SUBJECT OF THE REVOLUTION!

18 In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions the proletariat alone is in all countries the only consistently revolutionary class through to the end. All other "revolutionary" classes of the capitalist society, (i.e. the classes objectively benefiting from a revolution) including *the peasantry, the closest ally of the proletariat in the democratic revolution,* decay with the development of capitalism and finally disappear, whereas the proletariat is the special and essential product of capitalism and develops with the development of capitalism.

The thesis of "disappearence of the proletariat" served up by bourgeois ideologues to demonstrate that the time of the proletarian revolutions is past, is a fallacy. It is a fact that there are certain changes in the composition of the proletariat in imperialist countries, and the number of employees in the service sector has increased compared to the number of direct producers. But this does not at all mean that the proletariat is disappearing and the proletarian revolution is unnecessary or impossible.

The proletariat, consisting of all working men and women who must sell their laboring power to earn a living and have no private ownership over the means of production, is the vanguard and the real subject of the revolution in our era.

VIOLENT REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY WAY TO OVERTHROW IMPERIALISM!

19 The revolution is a question of force. The sway of imperialist bourgeoisie is based on force. Only the violent revolution can smash this sway.

Armed struggle is not the only form of force, but organized armed struggle of the working class and the toiling masses against the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary civil war is the highest form of the application of force, and the proletariat and the working masses must be prepared for it to carry out the revolution.

The thesis of the "two possible ways for transition to socialism, the peaceful and the non-peaceful", is a revisionist thesis trying to gloss over the fact that the transition without civil war, marked as "peaceful", is possible only under very extraordinary conditions, and the organized force of the proletariat is an absolute pre-condition for this.

Independent of which military path the revolution in each country and which form the utilization of revolutionary force is going to take, revolutionary force is an absolute must for the revolution.

Revolutionary force is above all the force of workers and toiling masses directed against the ruling classes.

The revolution is not a clash and a reckoning of the organized vanguard acting in the name of workers and toiling masses with the ruling classes "in the name of the people", but a work of the toiling masses themselves led and directed by the organized vanguard, under its participation.

The main task of all Communist parties in this connection is to organize the revolutionary force of the workers and toiling masses, to prepare them for the revolutionary civil war.

IT IS WRONG TO DETERMINE A MAIN CONTRADICTION/MAIN ENEMY FOR THE PROCESS OF PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

20 Since the process of proletarian world revolution is the sum-total, the resultant of very different revolutionary processes, it is wrong to determine a worldwide main contradiction and main enemy.

What we must determine worldwide is that the imperialist system is the target of proletarian world revolution.

This does not exclude a differentiated analysis of the given situation.

The determination of a main contradiction/main enemy for the process of proletarian world revolution is theo-retically wrong; and was used in practice for the one-sided subordination of one component part of the proletarian world revolution under another.

21 The fundamental Communist slogan of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions is the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" The content of this slogan put forward by the III. Communist International implies that the current of socialist revolution in imperialist countries and the current of anti-imperialist (national) democratic revolution in oppressed countries form the process of proletarian world revolution. These two currents are different elements of one and the same process,

both support and need each other. A one-sided overestimation of any one of them, or a thesis like the victory of one is dependent on the other, is wrong.

22 The whole imperialist system engenders revolution. The objective conditions making a revolution necessary and possible in all countries of the imperialist system are present to this or that degree of maturity. Proletarian revolutions or revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat are possible in all countries of the world.

23 The process of proletarian world revolution is realized by making proletarian revolutions in individual countries, i.e. by breaking the imperialist chain at its weakest link at any given moment.

The weakest link is the country in which the objective contradictions are strongest, "the 'upper classes' cannot carry on in the old way and the 'lower classes' do not want to live in the old way", and a revolutionary situation exists with a considerable increase in the independent historical action of the proletariat reflecting the mood of the masses, as well as the subjective element is ready for the revolution. That is to say, it is the country in which the level of consciousness and organization of workers, peasants and other revolutionary classes and layers make a revolution possible.

24 To determine the weakest link is correct only when this is made for individual countries and concretely. General continental estimates or statements for groups of countries are unsuitable and, yes, even harmful, in that they reduce the role of the proletariat and the toiling masses in the countries which do not count as "storm centers of the revolution" to waiting and supporting the movements in the "storm centers".

MIGHT IS DECISIVE IN THE IMPERIALIST WORLD!

25 The real rulers of the imperialist world are the imperialist great powers, which are presently in the position of being able to contend for world hegemony. Momentarily these great powers (in the sense of being the biggest robbers) are the USA, Japan, Germany, France, England and Russia. Other imperialist powers are certainly also expansionist, aggressive and imperialist. They have their share of the exploitation in many dependent countries and are in many countries even the main imperialist power (for example Italy in some North African countries, Belgium in its old colonies in Africa, Canada in some Latin American countries, the Netherlands in its old colonies; Canada and Italy have with five other Western imperialist powers their place in the club of the richest industrialized countries named G7). They are, however, still not in

a position to take up the struggle for world hegemony with other imperialist great powers today.

26 The other imperialist powers, which are not so strong today in comparison with the imperialist great powers and make up the weaker side in their relations with imperialist great powers, occupy by no means the position of an "oppressed country". In these countries the policy of defending its "independence" vis-à-vis imperialist great powers, the defense of one's "own" "national" imperialism against foreign imperialist powers is wrong. In every imperialist country the main enemy is one's "own" imperialism, the imperialist bourgeoisie of the given country.

27 In their contention for world hegemony, imperialist great powers form various alliance organizations both against the peoples of the world as well as against their imperialist rivals. These organizations always represent above all the interests of the strongest in these organizations.

– For example the USA founded and use the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), in which all important Western countries and some dependent states are members, in its own interests. The NAFTA (North American Free Trade Area) is an organization founded by the US imperialism 1992 so that it does not have to cede continental America to its imperialist rivals.

– The European Union (EU) is an organization of the imperialist great powers in Western Europe mainly under the leadership of the Federal Republic of Germany for rivalry with other imperialist great powers, for organizing enmity against peoples.

– The APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) organization is today above all a means in the hands of Japanese imperialism to contend with other imperialist great powers for hegemony.

28 At the moment Russia, having lost its pre-1990 strength, has become weaker in the contention for world hegemony. Now it is mainly trying to defend the old revisionist Russian empire. In other regions outside the old Russian social-imperialist empire it had to cede its old neo-colonialist spheres of influence to its rivals to a considerable extent. Inspite of this it is still the second biggest military power in the world, and in economic terms Russia is along with the other states of the old Soviet Union, which go together now with it, one of the biggest economic great powers of the world. Potentially, Russia has also the means to regain its old strength.

29 All imperialist great powers are trying to use the UNO, in which almost all states of the world are member, for their interests. The USA have

always had an advantage in this organization and used it until today for its own interests, since its current main rivals, German and Japanese imperialists, had, as losers of the Second World War, nothing to say in this organization during its establishment. Today too, this organization cannot adopt any binding decisions or resolutions directed against the fundamental interests of US imperialism. Just the changes in the balance of forces in recent times have made a review of the functions of this organization necessary. The anticipated reforms will bring no essential changes, and the UNO will serve, just like up to now, to present the interests of imperialist great powers as interests of all people. Nay, the USA will have to share its sway to some extent with others.

30 Economic organizations of the UNO like the IMF and the World Bank show best that UNO is mainly there for selling the interests of imperialist great powers as "interests of the world", as "interests of the entire mankind". These organizations are the real decision-makers over the economies of dependent countries, naturally in the interests and with the directives of imperialist great powers. How credit-worthy a country is, is determined by these organizations.

Similarly, the old GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs), and its successor WTO (World Trade Organization), founded 1.1.1995, in which imperialist powers and dependent countries are members under equal terms (!), are in reality a means in the hands of the imperialist forces for exploiting the dependent countries more easily in the name of "granting freedom of trade". Among imperialist countries, too, there are unquestionably imperialist great powers whose interests are considered especially.

Since relations between imperialists are relations of naked interest, the alliances among them are not firm and lasting, either. They can go bust any time, and new alliances are forged in their place.

THE DOMINANT FORM OF IMPERIALIST HEGEMONY: NEO-COLONIALISM

31 While on the one side of the imperialist world stand imperialist powers with imperialist great powers at the head as sovereigns of the world, stand on the other side the oppressed countries as pariahs of the world, dependent on imperialism in various forms and degrees.

The main form of dependence of oppressed countries at the moment is to be apparently independent in words and not to stand under the direct invasion or adminis-tration of imperialism, but in reality to be dependent on imperialism in every respect, i.e. economically, politically, culturally, i.e., the form of neo-colonialist dependence.

This form of dependence, existing since the emergence of imperialism, has spread ever more and become the main form after the establishment of a series of independent states after the Second World War.

Unquestionably the concrete situation of each state is different according to its degree of dependence in this type of neo-colonialist relationship.

32 While in a section of these countries feudalism continues its existence extensively and forms one of the main obstacles to the development of society, in some countries the liquidation of feudalism is rather far advanced. While some of them have not even entered the process of building nations, some are long since national states and they themselves oppress national minorities in their respective countries. While one section provides enough of the necessary requirements for socialist industrialization under the conditions of proletarian power from the point of view of economic development, some have almost no industry etc. Therefore, different revolutionary processes will be experienced in these countries. The common feature of these countries is the existence of the task of liberation from imperialist exploitation and domination as one of the main problems of the revolution, the existence of the tasks of an anti-imperialist revolution.

33 The existence of the tasks of an anti-imperialist revolution does not at all mean that the bourgeoisie of these countries as a whole is interested in the revolution, is a friend of the revolution etc. The existence of the tasks of an anti-imperialist revolution means only that a small part of the bourgeoisie of these countries can participate at a certain stage of the revolution for a certain time in the ranks of the revolution.

Under these conditions, too, it should not be forgotten that this section of the bourgeoisie, as bourgeoisie, ex-ploiters, mortal enemies of workers and toilers, is a temporary and unreliable ally. Neither should we forget this even for a moment nor should we let it be forgotten.

34 There are also relatively independent states in the present world which are not imperialist themselves and over whom imperialism could not establish complete control, although they are a part of the imperialist world and relations of exploitation rule there. These are: the erstwhile socialist People's Republic of China; North Korea, which always pursued a nationalist line; Cuba, in which a revolution was carried out under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie; Arabian nationalist states like Iraq and Libya, states like the islamic fascist Iran. China is developing in the direction of becoming a social-imperialist great power in close union with the Japanese imperialism in Asia/Pacific

(whereby they can renounce the socialist vocabulary with time). China has this potential. Under the conditions of bourgeois power the others will develop in the opposite direction, they will lose their relative independence as well.

Relative independence from imperialism does not mean that the bourgeoisie in these countries is revolutionary, followers or allies of workers and toilers. The ruling dictatorships in these countries are in many cases still more repressive than in many backward dependent countries, among other things also because of economic sanctions (embargo etc.) of imperialism. In these countries, too, the task consists in razing the power of ruling classes to the ground with either socialist or anti-imperialist democratic people's revolutions.

35 In the dependent countries the anti-imperialist struggle consists, so long and so far as they are not directly occupied by imperialism, above all in over-throwing the power of the ruling classes through the revolution. The ruling classes in these countries are the real agents, collaborators, appendages of imperialism in the country, and their rule is in many cases fascistic. It is totally wrong to grasp and wage the anti-imperialist fight only as a fight against imperialist monopolies, against their direct agents or symbols, to regard and wage this fight detached from the revolutionary fight against the ruling classes in the country. This means not grasping neo-colonialism.

In the case of a direct invasion and occupation by im-perialists, sections of the domestic ruling classes opposing this concrete invasion can participate in the fight against occupation.

IMPERIALISM IS CAPITALISM IN ITS GENERAL CRISIS!
IT IS PARASITIC, DECAYING, MORIBUND CAPITALISM!

36 The law of uneven and spasmodic development of capitalism preserves its validity in the imperialist era as well. Imperialism accelerated and deepened the uneven and spasmodic character of the development still more. At the same time the periodic economic crises as consequence of the contradiction between the social character of production and the private ownership over the means of production and the unplanned/anar-chic character of production hold on also in the age of imperialism – even with shorter periods. As parasitic, decaying capitalism, imperialism as a whole is capitalism's stage of downfall. It is capitalism in its general crisis. This general crisis does not mean that imperialism will decline overnight and of itself, but that it has sharpened all the contradictions of capitalism to the outmost.

37 The October revolution and the developments after the Second World War have deepened this general crisis extraordinarily, but through the

restora-tion and the defeats of the revolutions, capitalism has been able to save itself temporarily from collapse. This however changes nothing in the fact that imperialism is capitalism in its general crisis steering towards its collapse, in the words of Lenin, "moribund capitalism".

38 Imperialism is trying to overcome its cyclical crises by intensifying the oppression and exploitation of the working class and toiling peoples, by raising unemployment, increasing the tax burden on wages and salaries, sharpening the misery of the toilers, intensifying the exploitation of the toilers of the dependent countries and giving rise to wars again and again. Today it is doing the same thing.

THE OPPOSITION OF WORKERS AND TOILERS IN IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES AGAINST SHIFTING THE BURDEN OF THE CRISIS ONTO WORKERS AND TOILERS IS GROWING!

39 The current situation in imperialist countries is determined by the present cyclical crisis and attempts of the ruling classes to shift the burden of this crisis onto the shoulders of the working class and other toilers, and their opposition against it.

The crisis is further deepened by the fact that a redivision of the world stands again on the agenda as a result of the changes in the imperialist balance of power in the international arena, as a result of the breakdown of Russian social-imperialism and social-imperialist camp, and the need of imperialist great powers to lay out gigantic resources for this contention and to have to renew their production technique to overcome the cyclical crisis.

The consequence is: Rising unemployment in all imperialist countries, withdrawal of a series of social rights and achievements which the workers and toilers wrested through big struggles; the ever-growing transfer of labor-intensive production branches to locations outside the imperialist metropolises; stirring up and developing racism and fascism in the field of politics.

Another consequence is that, owing to this development the class struggle in imperialist countries, generally at a low level since many years, is experiencing a renewed upward tendency. The oppressed and the exploited line up against their oppressors, exploiters and their state. Workers, toiling masses, service employees, the unemployed, students and pupils, in short all layers of society express their discontent in actions. Unquestio-nably these actions have not yet reached the stage of questioning the imperialist system, the imperialist state, on which we could mark them as revolutionary class struggles. They are still actions against the withdrawal of acquired rights and stand especially under the

leadership of revisionist, reformist, social-democratic trade-union bosses and parties within the framework of the system. But there are also actions with a tendency to blow up this frame with their militant outlook, in direct confrontation with the state forces. In the strike actions of December 1995 in France there were several indications of this. For the period ahead, all objective prerequisites exist in imperialist countries for the class struggle to develop further and take on a mass and militant character. The class struggle developing in imperialist countries again shows that the big demoralization due to the breakdown of social-imperialist camp at the beginning of the nineties is slowly getting over. It depends on the fight against revisionist-reformist-social democratic influences, on the work of the Communists, that these struggles within the system boundaries are brought on a revolutionary basis and developed to revolutionary class struggles.

THE SITUATION IN FORMER EASTERN BLOCK COUNTRIES

40 The old Eastern Block countries occupy a special position among imperialist countries. All former Eastern Block countries with the Soviet Union at the head have undergone a great upheaval at the end of the eighties, beginning of the nineties in terms of political power. Out of the old social-fascist elite with a socialist phrasemongering emerged a new one with Western "democratic" phrases and usurped power. These countries have opened their gates more than ever to Western imperialist capital. The economic system, rotting from inside through bureaucratic state monopolism, had to redesign itself to get integrated into the classical capitalist/imperialist system. This has almost ruined the old industry and agriculture.

Under these conditions the economic crisis in these countries was experienced, and is being experienced, with still heavier consequences than in Western imperialist countries. While the terrible consequences of the economic crisis wake under the conditions of the absence of a genuine Communist alternative on the one hand the longing for the past (this shows itself in the growth of the percentage of votes for parties which now agitate with more nationalist, less socialist arguements, which are more reformist, carrying social-democratic, socialist, Communist etc. names), on the other hand it leads the masses to turning to overtly fascist-racist forces promising short-term, easy and demagogic solutions (this shows itself in the rise of the percentage of votes for fascist parties).

Objectively, the contradictions in these countries are starker in comparison with all other imperialist countries and show a tendency to intensify more quickly. Objectively, these countries are nearer to a revolution than other impe-

rialist countries. But the absence of bourgeois-democratic traditions in these countries can also bring about the establishment of still more reactionary and fascist regimes if the Communist alternative is not set up in time. But despite all this a not inconsiderable part of the masses which give expression to their longing for the past, subjectively want socialism. Those who express their wish for socialism in these countries make up a bigger mass than in Western imperialist countries. This shows that the soil is still fruitful for a really Communist work in these countries.

IN DEPENDENT COUNTRIES THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM HAS STILL MORE CATASTROPHIC CONSEQUENCES!

41 The crisis of imperialism is reflected in the dependent countries with more catastrophic consequences than in imperialist metropolises. That millions of toilers are threatened by hunger death, are massacred in local wars, tens of millions must emigrate because of wars, are the bare consequences in Black Africa, where 33 of the 50 poorest countries of the world are to be found.

42 While imperialism exploits the raw materials, buys up agricultural and crafts products in these countries to world prices dictated by him and sells its industrial products to prices again dictated by him and thereby achieves huge profits, exploits the dirt-cheap labor power in these countries and thereby makes giant profits, he binds the economy of these countries fully to itself and destroys the bases for the development of an independent economy. The terms of trade constantly changing in favor of imperialism and the exploitation of cheap labor power form the important sources of relative prosperity –also of the working masses– in imperialist countries. The imperialist bourgeoisie bribes with the maximum profits from the dependent countries the upper layers of the working class. Maximum profits from the dependent countries form the material and labor aristocracy bought off and in most cases bureaucratized by capital the social basis of opportunism/revisionism.

43 Imperialists use the havoc, wars and hunger they wreak in a thousand ways. The hunger, the misery in the backward dependent countries are used by the imperialist bourgeoisie above all for the purpose of making propaganda among its own working class and toilers to tell them to be thankful for what they have, and so hold back the struggle of workers and toilers for their democratic rights, their wage struggles etc. They take advantage of the food or clothes aid given now and again as alms to show how helpful and humane the

imperialist bourgeoisie is. And above all the propaganda is pursued that it were necessary to protect oneself against the poor, thus stoking up racism.

44 The relations of exploitation in dependent countries are still more barbarous than in imperialist countries. The living conditions of toilers, workers and peasants are harder and more difficult. The contradictions are still sharper. The capital and resources at the disposal of the bourgeoisie are more limited than those of the imperialist bourgeoisie; their possibilities and methods of overcoming the crisis are still more limited. For these and similar reasons the crisis here leads to still more catastrophic consequences.

45 This objective situation is at the same time the reason for the fight and resistance against exploitation and oppression in these countries being more developed than in imperialist countries.

Today in a series of dependent countries an armed struggle is being waged under the leadership of revolutionary forces, which partially refer to Marxism-Leninism. These organizations with a claim to base themselves on Marxism-Leninism and to fight for socialism, have a much larger mass basis than in imperialist countries. All the same, it is a fact that, taking all things into consideration and assessing them as a whole, the majority of the worker and toiler masses stands under the influence of the ruling classes, and the majority of the fights remains within the framework of system-inherent reform demands.

46 The reason for this lies in the subjective situation, that is to say, in the backwardness of the level of consciousness and organization of workers and toiling masses. The masses of workers and toilers are today both in imperialist and in dependent countries, from the point of view of concsiousness, in their overwhelming majority under the influence of the dominant ideology of imperialist bourgeoisie and ruling classes. The prevailing ideologies in the working class and toiling masses are the bourgeois (and in backward countries the feudal) ideologies. The bourgeoisie penetrates every day with its well networked media into the brains of the working class and toilers and blinds their consciousness. Even in the remotest corners of the imperialist world it has become an inseparable part of their life for the workers and toilers to be bombarded with imperialist ideology, agitation and propaganda. Therefore the overwhelming majority of the workers and toilers thinks today that socialism and Communism were a ghost. In the nineties the propaganda got out of hand that, as the breakdown of the socialist countries would have shown, Communism was dead, was good for nothing etc. And this propaganda was hammered into the heads of workers and toilers.

47 In the present world the number of workers and toilers who get to know the real Marxist-Leninist propaganda and agitation and attain class consciousness is very slight. Compared with the bourgeoisie's barrage of lies, the might of the organizations carrying the truth into the working class and toiling masses and their influence among them is slight. For this reason the great majority of workers and toilers acts against their own interests. The reason why the counter-revolution utters sighs of victory, although the objective situation is very favorable for the revolution, lies in this subjective situation.

To change this subjective situation is the task of the Communists who propound the laws of development of the objective world in the light of the science of Marxism-Leninism. The quicker and more comprehensively we solve this task, the closer will come the revolution.

LET US RAISE THE SUBJECTIVE ELEMENT TO THE LEVEL OF OBJECTIVE POSSIBILITIES!

48 Communism is a bogy only for the owners of the means of production, and the banner of liberation for workers and toilers. What "collapsed" in 1990 was not socialism, but the social-fascist dictatorship, a caricature of socialism, realized by revisionist bourgeois roaders. Real socialism is the dictatorship of workers and toilers over the bourgeoisie. To carry these and similar facts unremittingly, fearlessly, patiently into the working class and toiling masses through a systematic, intense agitation and propaganda, to organize the advanced elements of the working class, its class-conscious sections in the Communist Party, to unite the working class and toiling masses around the Communist Party — this is the most important revolutionary task today. The task is to raise the subjective element to the level of objective possibilities. Then the death bells will toll for imperialism.

Sooner or later, Communists will successfully solve this revolutionary task of the moment.

THE REVOLUTION IN NORTH KURDISTAN/TURKEY IS AN INSEPARABLE ELEMENT OF THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

49 The revolution in North Kurdistan/Turkey is an inseparable element of the proletarian world revolution.

50 North Kurdistan/Turkey is a backward capitalist, dependent country. Influences of the feudal remnants exist in its economy and also particularly in the superstructure.

51 In North Kurdistan/Turkey the democratic revolution remained hitherto uncompleted and a whole lot of the main tasks of the democratic revolution –above all the radical liquidation of feudalism– was not solved in a revolutionary way. Feudalism is dissolving itself through internal transformation, i.e., the feudal big landowners grow together with the big dependent capital and turn into capitalists. A series of semi-feudal relations continue to exist in the economy, but above all in the superstructure.

52 The stunted anti-imperialist revolution under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, the leader in the establishment of the Turkish Republic, was a movement of the Turkish and moslem bourgeoisie, landlords and capitalist landowners that in its development ran counter to the tasks of a democratic revolution.

53 In North Kurdistan/Turkey bourgeois democracy was never really practised. The state of the Republic of Turkey has, ever since its establishment in 1923 and after the consolidation of power of Kemalist bourgeoisie to some extent (i.e., since ca. 1925, the period of the Bill to Secure Public Order), always had a fascist character with a parliamentary mask. That during some periods the possibility existed of partially taking advantage of some limited democratic rights, does not change anything in this fact.

54 Although the state of the Turkish Republic is a dependent state, this does not prevent the Turkish ruling classes from entertaining imperialist ambitions themselves and engaging in imperialist politics whereever they can. These ambitions are not limited to the Aegean Sea and the Middle East, they are also formulated in their imperialist desires with respect to the dream of a Turkish zone of influence "from the Adriatic to the China Sea" and show how they put their imperialist ambitions into practice with the invasion of northern Cyprus, with the expedition against North Kurdistan, with the Kardak crisis etc.

55 North Kurdistan/Turkey is a multinational state dominated by the Turkish nation (its ruling classes) and inhabited also by non-Turkish nationalities like the Kurdish nation and other national minorities. But the ruling Turkish bourgeoisie does not acknowledge the existence of other nations than itself and pursues against those who want to exercise their national identity a policy of genocide and assimilation. In this connection the Turkish ruling clas-

ses have practised the first genocide of this century. They perpetrated a genocide on the Armenian nation. The Turkish Republic is a prison of nations for the non-Turkish nationalities. It is aggressive and expansionist not only within the borders of the Turkish Republic, but also outside. The invasion and occupation of the north of Cyprus since 1974 is an example for it.

56 The revolution in North Kurdistan/Turkey can be victorious only in the form of a revolution led by the working class and toilers of North Kurdistan/Turkey united under a correct leadership. For the same State rules both in North Kurdistan as well as in the other areas of the Turkish Republic. Victory of the revolution both in North Kurdistan and in other areas of the Turkish Republic is possible only through the demise of this State power. For this reason the revolution in North Kurdistan/Turkey is despite the diversity of conditions in different areas of the Turkish Republic a unified process.

THE REVOLUTION IN NORTH KURDISTAN/TURKEY IS AT THE STAGE OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST-DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION!

57 The revolution in North Kurdistan/ Turkey is at the stage of anti-imperialist-democratic people's revolution. On the basis of the basic alliance of workers and peasants, led by the Communist Party and under the hegemony of the proletariat, this revolution will topple the fascist dictatorship. It will realize the independence from imperialism, the liquidation of dependent capitalism and eliminate the feudal remnants, the national oppression and create the preconditions in which the oppressed nations can freely take advantage of their right to secede. It will realize the entire equality of all nationalities and set up the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants.

58 The way to socialist revolution, to the dictator-ship of the proletariat on the basis of the alliance of the proletariat with the poor and toiling peasantry will be opened and paved by the people's democratic revolution. The objective prerequisites are present for passing over to a socialist revolution in a very short time after the democratic revolution and accomplishing the socialist construction successfully through the permanent class struggle.

59 The state of the Turkish Republic can not get a democratic structure through some reforms. There is only one way to win democracy and to pave the way for socialist revolution: the violent revolution! Democracy can be achieved only by revolution, only by smashing the present fascist state right upto its foundations, and achieved will it be.

THE TASK OF THE DAY IS TO ENLIGHTEN, ORGANIZE AND PREPARE THE WORKING CLASS FOR STRUGGLE!

60 The class struggle of the working class in North Kurdistan/Turkey still proceeds along system boundaries and is at a relatively backward level today. The ruling classes can still use the working-class movement as a lever in their power struggle. Here the yellow, fascist, reformist unions, taking over the function of making out of the working class an appendage of the bourgeoisie, play the main role.

61 In connection with the class struggle of the working class the task consists in developing it from an appendage of the bourgeoisie into a really independent class movement, a revolutionary class movement. For this it is necessary to conduct a patient, systematic work of enlightenment, agitation and propaganda, to carry the Marxist-Leninist positions into the working class, to participate in the front lines of the working-class struggles on the basis of a correct policy. The leadership of the working class in the revolution can not be realized as long as this class has not been freed from bourgeois influences and united under the leadership of its own Marxist-Leninist party. This is the most important and decisive task of the Communists in North Kurdistan/Turkey.

62 For this reason, today, where the spontaneous movement of the working class is very retarded, Communist organization very weak and unity of the working class and the Communist organization likewise very weak, all forces must be used for organizing the working class and therefore concentrated in certain industrial centers.

63 The organizational goal of the work among the working class must be to transform the factories into bastions of the Communist Party. Party cells in the factories must be made the foundation of Party organization. That must be our organizational goal.

64 Other fundamental vehicles in our work among the working class are the formation of Communist and revolutionary fractions in the unions, and the organization of committees of strike and struggle.

Our goal by the trade-union organization is to conquer the reactionary unions. By conquer we do not mean winning the reactionary, fascist, reformist union apparatus – that is an empty illusion, but bringing the majority of the workers organized in the unions to revolutionary positions, winning the workers for the right politics. For this purpose we must go into all unions with a really mass character, unfold a systematic work there and try to create revolutionary-Communist fractions in the unions.

Our basic policy is that of setting up committees of strike and struggle, elected by all workers and responsible to workers' general meetings, so that during strikes and struggles in factories the leadership will not be left to the trade-union bosses, and we will be able to involve all workers –not only the unionized– in the struggle.

65 The peasant struggles occur mainly in North Kurdistan in the form of national struggle. The most developed struggle of the working masses today is the national struggle in North Kurdistan. In class terms, this is a peasant struggle. It occurs under the leadership of the bourgeois-nationalist PKK organization. This is the most developed and massive armed struggle in the Middle East. At the moment this struggle occupies an important place in the decision-making process in North Kurdistan/Turkey. It has now been declared officially that this struggle under the PKK's leadership is not being waged to overthrow the Turkish Republic, but to reach an agreement with it. On the part of the ruling classes of the Turkish Republic this is a reactionary, counter-revolutionary war, a genocide, and on the part of the PKK a reformist national war. The PKK's struggle runs on a reformist basis. It is not revolutionary. But still this struggle has a righteous aspect, the aspect of opposing the national oppression, which is to be supported.

66 We Communists are the real advocates of this just aspect, unconditional advocates of the genuine national liberation of the Kurdish nation, its right to secede. In this connection we are the most resolute enemies of Great Turkish chauvinism. We know and advocate that the pre-condition on which the Kurdish nation can exercise her right to secession can not be created by an agreement with the Turkish Republic, not as long as it exists, but only through smashing it with the revolution, under the conditions of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants, and we fight for it.

67 Real liberation of the workers and peasants of North Kurdistan can be reached only through their unity under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party with the victory of the struggle waged as a part of the common revolution in North Kurdistan/Turkey for smashing the Turkish Republic. Workers and peasants of North Kurdistan need their own Bolshevik Party, united under the roof of the united party with the Bolshevik Parties of other regions of the Republic of Turkey. The Bolsheviks of North Kurdistan/Turkey are well aware that the creation of such an organization is one of the most important tasks of the revolution in North Kurdistan/Turkey, and working cons-

ciously on it. The Bolsheviks from North Kurdistan grasp the struggle against regional nationalism as one of the most important tasks.

68 The PKK wants to reach a peace settlement through a political agreement with the ruling classes of the Turkish Republic. The part of the ruling classes of the Turkish Republic which now determines the politics however wants to intensify the war and destroy the PKK militarily. The peace settlement which the PKK wants, were it to be realized in practice, would not be real peace at all. We know that real peace, the true fraternization of peoples is possible only under the conditions under which the right of nations to self-determination is acknowledged unconditionally, all nations are fully equal, and we also know that this is a question of the revolution. We consider the fight for real peace as the fight for revolution. We are of the opinion that for the establishment of peace as well, the main task is to reinforce the fight for revolution.

69 The fight of the peasants outside of North Kurdistan is still more backward than the movement of the working class. And these movements are also under bourgeoisie's control. Nevertheless a certain increase and militancy is to be observed here recently. These movements can become a correct leadership only by strengthening the Communist Party, through the working-class cadres going into these movements.

70 While the women's movement, having exhibited the first massive upswing after the suppression of all revolutionary movements after 1980, now experiences a decline in terms of masses, on the other hand the process of differentiation of women's movement into bourgeois and working women's movement has accelerated and is accelerating further. Unquestionably the acceleration of this differentiation is a positive sign for the development of a Communist women's movement. Recently the ruling classes have been trying to instrumentalize the women's movement in the power struggle of religious-fascist and Kemalist-fascist cliques. They are trying to con the women's movement into defending the present fascist regime against the threat of shariah. In struggling against these efforts we should not forget the following: The main goal of the women's movement today is to raise Communist women cadres, to win the Communist women in the toiling women's movement for the creation of a Communist women's movement.

71 The youth movement especially in the form of student's youth movement has recently experienced an upswing in numerical terms and become more militant. Still, taking the youth mass as a whole, this movement is at a low level from the point of view of participation and proceeds within the

boundaries of the existing order. The relative upswing in numerical terms and the militancy of the student youth movement within the youth will continue. Without forgetting our main task (getting organized in the working class), engagement in these movements is a task of the Communists.

72 During the last few years there has been a certain development in public consciousness for environmental questions in North Kurdistan/Turkey and more and more actions were developed involving different classes and layers. The prevailing ideology in this area is reformism. Particularly in the question of environmental consciousness there will be more developments and increased actions in future. The task is to break the hold of bourgeois and to reinforce the proletarian influence.

73 Various wings of the ruling classes are fighting each other for a greater portion of power in North Kurdistan/Turkey today. While they have little fear of a working-class and toilers' movement, the contradictions among them are very sharp. Some recent events show that they even set up secret organizations not only against the people but also against each other and pursue plots.

74 Power of the ruling classes is in a state of total degeneration. Different wings of the ruling classes maintain that the degeneration stems from other wings, and thus try to whitewash themselves. And all together they represent that under no circumstances is the state degenerate, but this or that person within the state apparatus, and so try to whitewash the state.

75 The ruling classes offer the people different government alternatives: the current fascist dictatorship with a parliamentary mask; a fascist dictatorship putting aside its parliamentary mask temporarily; a religious-fascist dictatorship instead of the West-oriented Kemalist-fascist.

For workers and toiling masses each of these alternatives is worse than the others. It is not the concern of the working class and toiling masses to prefer one of them to the others, nor can it be. The working class and toiling masses must fight for their alternative, for their own state power. The task is to educate and organize them for this task.

76 Today besides our Party none of the organizations in North Kurdistan/Turkey acting in the name of Marxism-Leninism is Marxist-Leninist. They all are in this or that regard opportunistic (revisionistic). Neither does for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists in North Kurdistan/Turkey the problem consist in uniting with some kind of an organization. The way to winning in-

dividual revolutionary elements from within these organizations to the Marxist-Leninist line and our Party is principled and open ideological struggle.

77 From the opportunist (revisionist) organizations Aydınlık/Worker's Party finds itself clearly in the ranks of the counter-revolution (although it is not a party of the ruling classes).

Legalism and reformism generally reign supreme. The legal "socialist" parties are system-inherent reformist parties. Their clearest examples are the ÖDP (Party of Freedom and Democracy) and the EMEP (Party of Labor).

The disease of legalism and reformism shows itself also in illegal opportunist organizations in varying degrees. The illegal organizations are mainly petty bourgeois. Regarding the armed struggle, the point of view represented and practised by these organizations is, as one can easily see from the theory and practice of DHKP-C, and different wings of the TKP/ML, the understanding of vanguard warfare. That is to say, the vanguard fights in the name of the people. The task of the day is to awaken, organize and prepare the working class for struggle, not to wage vanguard warfare.

78 Almost all opportunist organizations have applied and continue to apply wrong methods beneficial only to the counter-revolution in the internal struggle in their organizations. Those who in words believe that use of *violence has no business in relations among revolutionaries, declare, in the case* that their organizations are directly affected by a division, split etc., their political adversaries to counter-revolutionaries, police informers etc. and murder them. This, however, serves in reality only the emergence of a situation as wished by the agents provocateurs and police.

79 With petty-bourgeois revolutionary organizations united actions can be carried out on individual occasions on the basis of a revolutionary platform, and freedom of agitation and propaganda.

Call on All Marxist-Leninist Parties, Organizations, Groups and Persons in the World:

Our 6th Congress decided to publish our following positions once again in the form of theses:

► The Marxist-Leninist world movement is experiencing its weakest and most split period today.

► Today there is no common platform on which the world Marxist-Leninist movement can unite.

► One of the most important tasks of the Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries today is the fight for the creation of the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

► The first steps towards creating the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement are common efforts for the elaboration of a platform on which the Marxist-Leninist movement can unite.

► Since such a platform does not exist today, there is also no common position on who can be characterized as Marxist-Leninist.

► On the other hand there is also no common authority acknowledged by all revolutionary Communists as Marxist-Leninist.

► In our opinion the following must be done in this situation:

The groups which claim to be Marxist-Leninist, which appraise each other –with their theory and practice– as Marxist-Leninist or close to Marxism-Leninism, should begin with the work of creating a common platform; in case attempts in this direction were begun already, to collaborate jointly as much as possible there.

The concerned groups must present what the assimilation of the revolutionary essence of Marxism means for them today, what their unconditional criteria are for appraising somebody or an organization as Marxist-Leninist, and in this sense their current criteria of Marxism-Leninism.

From among these criteria the common ones and differences should be ascertained, a serious, systematic study and discussion should take place with reference to the differences in criteria, and the ideological struggle should be organized.

Open, public discussion over ideological-political disagreements, ideological struggle over the differences, "in order that we may unite", must be acknowledged as the method of unity.

Mutual practical help and united actions must accompany the work for the creation of the platform. The principle of this united action must be "unity of action, freedom of agitation and propaganda".

In our opinion the current criteria of Marxism-Leninism are the following:

► To acknowledge Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as classics of Marxism-Leninism.

► To grasp and condemn the Khrushchevite modern revisionism as the ideological prop of the –now defunct– Russian social-imperialism.

► To acknowledge that the Khrushchevite modern revisionism is the main culprit responsible for the present condition of the world Marxist-Leninist movement; to accept that ideological struggle against the Khrushchevite modern revisionism has not been completed, that there are very important mistakes and deviations in this struggle, that it stands before us to bring this struggle to completion;

► To reject and condemn the "Three Worlds Theory" as a counter-revolutionary theory; to grasp the struggle against the roots and all variations of this theory as a task;

► To uphold Mao Zedong as a great Marxist-Leninist. By the appraisal of Mao Zedong, to combat both the appraisal of him as the fifth classic of Marxism-Leninism as well as the general appraisal of him as a revisionist for the period after 1957; to reject and condemn as deviation from Leninism both the appraisal of Mao Zedong as a petty-bourgeois, peasant revolutionary as well as Maoism which systematizes some errors of the Mao Zedong Thought.

► To reject and condemn the post-1978 line of the Party of Labor of Albania as revisionist;

► In order to bring about the unity of the World Marxist-Leninist Movement, to accept the work for the creation of the platform of the World Communist Movement as the key link to grasp; to accept principled open and public ideological struggle as the method of bringing about the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement internationally as well as in individual countries;

► To uphold the Leninist Party teaching, and today especially the teaching of the two stages of Party-building, i.e., that field of this teaching relating to how this party is to be created, as a universal teaching;► To adhere closely to

the methodological propositions of Marxism-Leninism, especially to the method of unity of theory and practice, and the method of self-criticism.

We call on all forces with a claim to base themselves on Marxism-Leninism and taking an irreconcilable, militant and revolutionary stand against imperialism and their own ruling classes, to get in touch with us, to discuss with us over the criteria named above and moreover to press forward for a united fight against imperialism.

Together with all these revolutionary forces we want to wage an open ideological fight for creating the platform of the world Marxist-Leninist movement on the one hand and to carry out united action for jointly ascertained goals on the other hand.

We call upon all these forces to present their current criteria openly and publicly. The only way to unity is to state the alternatives openly and discuss them in a comradely manner.

Raise Revolutionary Banner of May Day Higher!

May Day is observed in this year by the revolutionary forces all over the world at a significant time when the proletariat and the toiling and oppressed masses everywhere are waging numerous struggles against the imperialists and the native comrador ruling classes; when the forces struggling for democracy and socialism at international level are once again regrouping and strengthening their ranks against the capitalist-imperialist system marking a new beginning for great changes that are going to sweep the world in coming years.

Day by day it is getting increasingly exposed that inspite of the serious setbacks suffered by the international working class movement, it is not socialism but the imperialist system which is caught in severe crises. Stagnation in the fields of production, mounting unemployment, fall in living indices of the masses, and curtailment or abolition of the democratic rights hitherto enjoyed by the people are becoming the universal characteristics in the imperialist countries. Imperialist system is becoming an obstacle to the growth of the productive forces and even to the further development of science and technology contrary to the claims of its ideologues. As its moribund character is increasingly coming to the fore it is surviving depending on speculative capital, intensifying the plunder of the masses of the neocolonies and proletariat at home, through increasing competition for world market, and war mongering to prop up lucrative arms trade. Simultaneously it has let loos an allround cultural offensive to spread its degenerated, reactionary value system. These developments have sharpened all the contradictions at international level, that is, the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries, between the oppressed masses in the neocolonies and imperialism, and among the imperialist powers and the global monopoly groups.

This is reflected in the mighty revolts of the proletariat and other oppressed masses in the imperialist countries that shook them during the last few years. Although these struggles do not yet target the imperialist system as a whole, the imperialist bourgeoisie is nevertheless frightened. The imperialist bourgeoisie, the monopoly groups, the various revisionist forces, and the labour aristocracy they have developed have not succeeded in curbing the repeated out-

break of these struggles. The vigorous campaigns unleashed by these forces of reaction against socialism pointing out the disintegration of Soviet Union and developments in other former socialist countries, their celebration of the 'demise' of socialism and final victory for market system heralding the dawn of a 'new world order', and their declaration about the 'end of history' have not helped to disarm the working class who are coming up once again to challenge the imperialist system.

In the former "socialist" countries under revisionist domination including Russia, inspite of all smokescreens created by imperialist propagandists and their local accomplices, a considerable section of the proletariat and all other toiling masses have once again started showing their aspiration for socialism, and are again on the move against those in power like the Yeltsins.

In the vast areas of the Afro-Asian-Latin American countries under the vicious grip of neocolonialism unleashed by the imperialist camp, the proletariat and oppressed masses are launching powerful struggles in various forms to resist the anti-people policies and to overthrow the comprador regime. In these neocolonies the imperialist system has only reproduced allround stagnation and degeneration, and a regime of speculative capital plunging them to extreme crises and devastation. Under dictates of the instruments of imperialist capital like IMF, World Bank, WTO, numerous international financial institutions etc. and the MNCs, the policies of privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation and the mounting debt repayments are pauperising the vast masses there. As a result, the contradiction between the imperialist system and the ruling state system in these countries on the one hand and the oppressed masses on the other is intensifying day by day.

At this critical juncture the imperialist camp and its compradors are utilising all possible arsenals under their command including allround imperialist cultural aggression utilising all modern technological knowhow to beat back these challenges from the proletariat and the oppressed masses. Knowing fully well that the best way to blunt the surging people's movements and to lead them astray is to disarm the proletarian class forces ideologically and politically, they are utilising all time-tested means and instruments for this purpose. They are promoting various alien trends which are negating proletarian class positions, and the very concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Reformist ideologies including the so-called 'grass-root' concepts propagated by voluntary/non-governmental organisations are promoted. Religio-fundamentalist, racist, national chauvinist like forces are encouraged and utilised to divide,

divert and maim the proletarian forces. At the same time, to supress any forms of people's struggles, the state is made increasingly fascist and state terror is unleashed. Even hitherto existing democratic rights are abolished.

The proletarian socialist forces can utilise the present excellent objective situation developing at global level for a new revolutionary offensive only by combating these allround counter-revolutionary attacks by the imperialists and their lackeys through strengthening their ideological-political-organisational preparedness internationally and in each country based on Marxist-Leninist positions and proletarian internationalism. Let the taking up of this historic task and building up of steel like unity of the proletarian forces at international level be our clarion call on this May Day.

It is inspiring that once again some forces claiming to base themselves on Marxism-Leninism have started regrouping at international level organising conferences, seminars and solidarity campaigns etc. This positive trend has gained momentum during the last few years. While the revolutionary forces in the imperialist countries organise May Day campaigns against the imperialist powers, in the neocolonies vigorous campaigns are organised by the revolutionary forces with the slogans: Kick out IMF-World Bank-MNCs, Quit WTO, Write off imperialist debt, and scrap the imperialist dictated policies of privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation. They are militantly upholding the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

We support and salute all these campaigns and hope that together we shall make the May Day this year a day to remember, a day of militant expression of the great unity of the proletarian forces at international level. Let the red banner of May Day, the revolutionary banner of the international proletariat be raised higher and higher with firm resolve to intensify the revolutionary struggles in all countries, to mobilise solidarity action in support of struggling peoples, and to build up international unity of the proletarian forces.

Let the revolutionary struggles and militant May Day actions of the world proletariat and the oppressed masses everywhere shake the very foundation of the imperialist system, and let their May Day call reverberate over all continents heralding a new upsurge of the world proletarian revolution.

Long Live Revolutionary May Day

Long Live International Solidarity of World Proletariat!

April 1997

Raise the Revolutionary Banner of May Day Higher!

May Day is observed by the Proletariat and all other toiling masses all over the world this year at a significant time when oppressed masses everywhere are coming up in numerous struggles against the imperialists and local ruling classes; when the forces of socialism are once again regrouping and strengthening their ranks against the capitalist-imperialist system; when these developments mark yet a new beginning for great changes that are going to sweep the world.

Mighty strikes and militant actions with the working class in the forefront and broad toiling masses that shook the French imperialist state for weeks, and increasing discontent and actions on the part of the proletariat and other oppressed masses in other imperialist countries frighten the imperialist chieftains, although these strikes and actions remain presently within the boundaries of the imperialist system. If the imperialists vigorously celebrated the collapse of erstwhile USSR and a series of other pseudo-socialist States under the rule of revisionists as the collapse of socialism and the victory of market economy, the developments in these countries go to show that the toiling masses do not see in this naked capitalism the promised heaven. In a number of countries where "market economy" won "victory" – as the results of the elections in the erstwhile Soviet Union, in Poland etc. show –, people begin to think that they were better off even in the period under revisionist rule than now, and this thought is gaining ground. And in many of the African, Asian and Latin American countries under vicious grip of neocolonialism unleashed in post-World War II years by US led imperialist camp, the discontent and activity of the proletariat and oppressed nations and peoples is on the rise again, with mounting struggles in various forms to resist ever-mounting anti-people policies and to overthrow the comprador regimes.

Not long back, imperialists everywhere with US imperialism in leadership were celebrating the 'demise' of socialism declaring the dawn of 'new world order' with their exploitative, plundering ruling system as the 'end of history'. They unleashed vicious ideological offensive to disarm world proletariat and its vanguard forces. They pressed into service aristocratic sections among the proletariat and all reformist-revisionist forces in these reactionary onslaughts against socialist forces.

Day by day it is getting increasingly exposed that inspite of the serious setbacks it is not socialism but the imperialist system which is caught in severe crises. Stagnation in the fields of production, mounting unemployment and fall in living indices are becoming universal characteristics in imperialist countries as well as in the neocolonies. Imperialist system is becoming an obstacle to the growth of productive forces and even to development of science and technology contrary to claims of its ideologues. As its moribund character is increasingly coming to the fore, it is surviving depending on speculative captial, intensifying neocolonial plunder and war-mongering. It has accelerated inter-imperialist contradictions threatening to break out presently in the form of trade wars. Simultaneously the contradictions between capital and labour is coming to the forefront in numerous forms in these countries.

Imperialist system is trying to ward off its crises by escalating plunder of the neocolonies. Instruments of imperialist capital like IMF, World Bank, WTO, MNCs, international financial institutions etc. are employed for this purpose. Under neocolonial offensive moribund imperialist system has only reproduced allround stagnation and degeneration, and a regime of speculative capital plunging these countries into extreme crises and devastation. As a result contradiction between imperialism and the ruling classes in these countries on the one hand and opressed masses on the other hand is reaching extreme levels.

At this critical juncture the imperialist camp is utilising all possible arsenals to beat back the challenges from the proletariat and oppressed masses. Knowing fully well that the best way to attack the surging people's movements is to disarm them ideologically and politically, it is utilising all time-tested means and instruments for this purpose. It is promoting everywhere various alien trends which are negating proletarian class positions. Reformist ideologies are manufactured and propagated. Religious, fundamentalist, racist, national chauvinist like forces are encouraged to divide, divert and maim the proletariat. At the same time to suppress people's movements state terrorism is increasingly employed. The state apparatus in imperialist countries are fully drained of even existing bourgeois democratic values. The state is made fascistic to suppress people's resistance everywhere.

Proletarian socialist forces can combat this allround counter-revolutionary offensive at global level by the imperialist camp utilising the excellent situation developing everywhere only by sharpening their ideological political-organisational preparedness internationally based on Marxist-Leninist positions.

In order to carry forward the revolutionary May Day tasks in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the proletarian forces have to build up steel like firm unity in their own country as well as at international level casting away all reformist illusions. At this historic juncture, let it be the rallying slogan on this May Day.

Let the banner of May May, the revolutionary banner of international proletariat, be raised higher and higher with the firm resolve to intensify revolutionary struggles in all countries, to mobilise solidarity action in support of struggling peoples, and to build up international unity of proletarian revolutionary forces.

Let the revolutionary struggles of world proletariat and oppressed masses shake the very foundations of the imperialist system, and let their May Day call reverberate over all continents heralding the worldwide victory of proletarian revolution.

April 1996

Long Live Revolutionary May Day!
Long Live International Solidarity of World Proletariat!
Raise the Banner of Liberation,
Raise the Banner of Revolution on May Day!

BOLSHEVIK PARTY (NORTH KURDISTAN - TURKEY)
PROLETARIAN VANGUARD ORGANISATION OF CEYLON
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST-LENINIST) RED FLAG

16/17June 1997 — European Summit in Amsterdam

Maastricht II:
The Europe of the Rich Arms Itself!

The European Union is not a democratic union of various states! It is an imperialist alliance for:

- better squeezing the toilers in the European states;
- extensive repression of revolutionary resistance;
- the neo-colonialist exploitation of dependent countries as suppliers of raw materials and cheap labour;
- consolidating the fortress Europe against refugees and labor immigrants;
- increased rivalry above all with Japanese and American capital;
- safeguarding the military interests of European powers.

The European Union (EU) is an imperialist alliance in which the great powers England, France and Germany have the saying under the economic supremacy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

UNEMPLOYMENT — A SCOURGE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!

The Europe wide march against unemployment on the occasion of the European Summit in Amsterdam denounces some outgrowths of the EU system... But in the appeals the idea of another Europe, a social-democratic Europe is presented as alternative: "Social partnership", "reducing the democracy deficit" etc. are the proposed beauty corrections. They bemoan the passing of the times of full employment. But unemployment, wage exploitation, inflation, price hikes are no strokes of fate and not the result of a wrong policy. They are inseparable elements of the capitalist economy.

This capitalist economys leads to the blatant contradiction that the perfection of technology, the increase in productivity and social wealth in bourgeois society means an increase in social inequality, greater discrepancy between the haves and the have-nots, increased existential uncertainty, unemployment and wants of all kinds for ever broader layers of toilers.

THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE — FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

So long as capitalism reigns in European countries, so long will the EU be an imperialist alliance.

There was and is going to be no "social" Eu-rope, no "Europe from below", so long as the power structures do not change. These are all day-dreams and illusions. If we want to fight the consequences of the EU alliance, if we want to fight unemployment, price hikes, wage exploitation, political repression, racism, male chauvinism, then we have to realize that we can eliminate them really only when we fully destroy the rule of capital in our countries. Our goal can only be: Fight against capitalism — for socialism!

We must put here and now the question of the alternative to the world system of imperialism. Despite all defeats suffered by the international working-class movement, from which we must learn today more than ever before, the present system with its barbarism proves one point ever more clearly: We need an alternative, we need a society where those who work and create all the values in society, also dispose over political power!

Fight for the socialist revolution!

June 1997

BOLSHEVIK PARTISAN
(Marxist-Leninist journal from North Kurdistan/Turkey) &

TROTZ ALLEDEM
(Inspite of Everything) (Journal for building the Bolshevik Party Germany)

Excerpts from a Letter to the Communist Party of Japan/Left

November 18, 1996

Dear comrades,

...

Here is how we assess the present situation [in the Middle East] and what we think about the contending forces briefly in the form of theses:

The Middle East is one of the most important areas of contention for the imperialists for a redivision of the world. For imperialists, and first and foremost for imperialist great powers, the region, producing some 60% of the world output of oil, is important above all in this respect. The region is a playground for all imperialist powers, and they all try to get the biggest share for themselves. At present, the US imperialism is the dominant power in the region, but this dominance is not absolute. Other imperialist great powers are doing all they can to throw back and even put an end to the US dominance in favor of their own dominance. The Zionist state of Israel is the strongest US pillar in the region. Israel is in the situation of being one of the biggest military forces in the region. In view of its militarist and aggressive structure, it is strong enough to wage a war even when left on its own. On the international plane, the USA is the power which supports all Israeli aggression. Inspite of this fact, the USA cannot afford to confront the entire Arab world, and therefore plays also a role of forcing Zionist Israel to "imperialist peace", so to speak. Saudi Arabia and the Emirate of Kuwait, the other supporters of the USA in the region, are in military terms not in a position to defend the US interests in the region. Their own survival depends to a large extent on the USA. The USA makes use of these areas both as sources of raw materials (oil) and as military bases. Turkey and Egypt act in alliance with and in allegiance to the USA. Today Jordan and Syria also stay in a certain alliance relationship with the USA.

No doubt, all these "allies" have also their own special interests and calculations in this alliance. And on those points where their interests and calculations do not concur with those of the USA, they try to implement the policy that seemingly best suits their interests even when this is not to the liking of the USA. In this context, the ruling classes usually take these steps in the name of an "independent foreign policy", with the intention of capitalizing on and taking in tow the anti-imperialist and/or anti-American tendencies among the popular masses. The possibility and spectacle of an "independent foreign policy" (this should be understood as independent from the USA) grows, the more developed the relations are with other imperialist great powers. The visits paid by the present government of the Turkish Republic to Iran and Libya, for example, were realized although the USA did not want them. As a result of mistaken notions about anti-imperialism on the part of opportunist forces in the region, anti-imperialism is rather developing in the form of anti-Americanism, and other imperialist great powers are not considered so evil. People do not realize that there is essentially no difference between them and the USA, that they too are vital enemies of the peoples. One of the most important questions of the task of anti-imperialist revolution in the region is to grasp and make people grasp that anti-imperialism should not and cannot be confused with and reduced to anti-Americanism.

Another important problem in this respect is that anti-imperialist revolution is grasped as a military expulsion of this or that imperialist power from the region. In our opinion this is also wrong. With the exception of North Irak/South Kurdistan, there is no area under direct military occupation in the region. For this reason, anti-imperialist revolution is in almost all countries of the region directed against the ruling classes in the country collaborating with the forces of imperialism. Anti-imperialist revolution is interwoven with the democratic revolution that is going to pave the way for socialism.

The biggest rivals of the USA in the region are France, Britain, Russia and Japan, all headed by Germany. Germany has "good relations" with all states in the region, and presents itself –sometimes speaking in the name of Europe– as the alternative to the USA. The relations of Germany with Iran, which the USA describes as a "terrorist state", are a case in point.

In its relations above all with the Lebanon and Syria, France is in a more advantageous position than the USA. There is a very complicated and fast race going on among imperialist powers in terms of establishing their domination

within the Palestinian state that is developing towards a state within the sphere of domination of the imperialist world.

Britain considers it more suitable for its interests to act as the closest US ally, its shadow in Europe. This does not mean, however, that it does not have any aspiration to domination on its own. As one of the former dominant forces in the region, Britain no doubt wants to reattain its former role. British military bases in Cyprus, the active aggressive role played by Britain in the operation "Poised Hammer" etc. are facts underlining its striving for domination.

Some people think Russia is not involved in the Middle East any more. This is not a correct approach. Russia is –no doubt– not so strong as it was before 1990 in the Middle East. But it is not a "negligible" force, either. It still holds quite an active position in the Middle East affairs through the ties it has in the Middle East. It can be said that no imperialist power can take steps which would change the balance of power in the Middle East against the absolute opposition of Russia.

Those who reduce the entire struggle to the struggle against "US hegemony" whitewash the other imperialist great powers in the eyes of the people. The struggle must be directed against all imperialist powers, against the forces of world imperialism. All policies proposed in the name of "utilizing inter-imperialist contradictions" at the present level of workers' and toilers' movement and at the present level of communist organization end up in practice with becoming the tail end of other imperialist powers in the struggle against any particular imperialist power.

While imperialist great powers contend among themselves for domination in the Middle East, they also collude with one another and enter into compromises to prevent the emergence of local or regional powers that could challenge them. And they do this in the name of "human values", "human rights" of the West etc.

Their stand against Saddam's Iraq is the most clear-cut case in point. Their stand against Iran etc. is a further case in point. The regimes in both Iraq and Iran are anti-popular, fascist, externally aggressive regimes. However, these regimes have another common characteristic, in that, at present, they are not directly an extension of any one particular imperialist power. And they are not in a position of implementing any and every prescription of the imperialist world. Both regimes are struggling to establish themselves as dominant regional forces in their own right. Having this characteristic, they are not regimes which the imperialists wish, but regimes which they wish to destroy. And both regimes

make use of this state of affairs to present themselves as progressive, anti-imperialist regimes and take the masses in tow. Both the "human rights" defense of imperialist powers attacking these regimes, as well as the anti-imperialist jargon of these regimes is a lie. The contention among these two groups of bandits is a contention between big and small bandits, and there is no party to support. Undoubtedly, we hold the military attacks of the imperialist great powers, and above all those of the US, to "punish" Iraq, their embargo on Iraq which in actual fact punishes the Iraqi people, for acts of piracy and strongly condemn them. However, this does not mean on our part that we somehow support the Saddam regime. The Saddam regime is a fascist regime, it is the main enemy of Iraqi peoples to be overthrown by their revolution. In the same manner, we hold all attempts of the imperialists to attack Iran for an act of piracy and strongly condemn them. But this does not mean that we support the Iranian regime. A clerical-fascist regime reigns in Iran that should be overthrown with the revolution of Iranian peoples. This regime is the main enemy of Iranian peoples.

To side with one of the parties in the contention between the imperialists and the reactionary, fascist regimes of the Middle East is a radical error. Communists and revolutionaries must intervene in the events as independent forces and not at the tail end of ruling classes.

In their contention for hegemony in the Middle East, imperialists make use of the national-ethnical and religious-factional contradictions and border conflicts between the states of the region to the utmost. One fundamental feature of their policy is the policy of divide and rule, "divide et empera".

In this context two facts are of importance: First of all, the borders in the Middle East were drawn artificially during imperialist division and redivision of the world. And all existing states have border problems, unresolved "historical problems" with their neighbors. Depending on he conjuncture, the ruling classes in every country play these cards again and again to distract the attention of the masses from internal, class questions and to take them in tow. Secondly, all states in the Middle East are multi-national states in which one nation dominates and applies all kinds of national oppression on other nations and nationalities. This is a cause of continuous internal instability and national strife in these countries, bringing various levels of conflicts and wars for their suppression onto the agenda. These two facts make this region extremely favorable for the application of the policy of "divide and rule".

At the moment, there are two national movements awaiting solution, pressing for solution. One is the Palestinian Arab national movement. At the point reached now, this movement has come under the control of imperialism in the main, the establishment of an "independent" mini Palestinian state next to Zionist Israel has become the maximum program of the mainstream movement. The course of development is, as events point out, despite the counter-current both within the Palestinian Arab national movement and within Israel, towards the establishment of a mini Palestinian-Arab state under bourgeois leadership, compromising and uniting with imperialism (the line of present PLO leadership/Arafat). The radical-islamist wing within the Palestinian Arab national movement does not favor this "solution" and reasserts its goal of overthrowing the Israeli State, propounds anti-Semitic positions in the name of anti-Zionism and anti-imperialism. We consider anti-Semitism to be a very perilous ideology. We are resolute opponents of Zionism, of the racist ideology and politics of considering Palestine as the promised land for Jews and violently attacking the Arab population. We are resolute opponents of the imperialist expansionism of the Israeli state etc. The Israeli state is a Zionist, aggressive, militarist state. This state must be razed to the ground by the democratic revolution of the peoples in Israel, paving the way for socialism. Not because it is a "Jewish state"! But because it is an anti-people, exploiter state, an aggressive, Zionist state following an imperialist policy! Just as we are against the Zionist Israeli state, we are also against the anti-Semitic, racist project of "throwing Jews into the sea". The Jewish population settled in Palestine must be accepted as a fact of life. Anti-Semitic positions have in fact nothing to do with democracy, with revolutionarism etc. From the point of view of toilers, the social project of islamic clericalists is indeed no project for real liberation. To a great extent, this part of the movement is a means of influence in the hands of Iran in the region.

The second important national movement is the Kurdish national movement. Geographically, Kurdistan is divided into four parts among four states (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria). A compact Kurdish population lives within the boundaries of former Soviet Union. Mainly there are three big "national liberation organizations" in Kurdistan besides dozens of smaller organizations. Two of these big organizations contending for power in South Kurdistan (North Iraq), forced to the negotiating table earlier in Dublin and lately in Ankara under the auspices of USA and Turkey, i.e., the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Talabani, and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (KDP) led by Barzani, are reac-

tionary feudal-bourgeois organizations openly collaborating with imperialism, under direct imperialist control, which have no revolutionary, national liberationary substance. They are rather clan-based organizations than national organizations. The political guide-line of these organizations is lack of principles and bourgeois pragmatism. During the latest clashes the PUK collaborated with Iran and the KDP with Iraq. However, these should not be considered as lasting alliances etc. What the imperialists want in South Kurdistan is a form of domination in which these two forces together control –under the control of imperialism– this area and each other as well. Since all the states in the region know perfectly well that the establishment even on paper of an independent Kurdish state in any part of Kurdistan will in time bring up the question of the unification of Kurdistan, they are against the establishment of a Kurdish state. Therefore, although the circumstances are very favorable for the establishment of a separate state in South Kurdistan, the declared objective of imperialists and their lackeys is not an independen Kurdistan state, but an autonomous Kurdish area within Iraq, a special zone with regional autonomy within a federal structure at best. Present conditions exclude the possibility of establishing a dependent Kurdish state, of an imperialist power giving direct support to such a project. Then this can be done only in direct confrantation with Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria altogether. However, this is not an obstacle for the imperialists to play the "Kurdish card" in their relations with the states of the region to bring them under better control.

The third biggest Kurdish national movement is the PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan). The two most fundamental characteristic of this organization, organized primarily in North Kurdistan, but increasingly settling in the South as well in the nineties, are as follows: First of all, this organization is more modern in comparison with the other two, more national in the sense of being not clan-based. Secondly, this organization is not under the direct control of any particular imperialist power. This does not mean that this organization has a consistent anti-imperialist line. The fundamental cause of this situation lies in the fact that imperialists do not yet accept this organization as their counterpart like the other organizations. But as a bourgeois nationalist organization it is ready to establish relations with imperialism and defend the interests of an imperialist power when that power clearly supports it. Especially in the last few years, the PKK transformed the armed struggle into a means serving the basic objective of being recognized as a political addressee. Its present line is what we call armed reformism.

We Bolsheviks of North Kurdistan/Turkey see the solution of Kurdistan question in peoples' democratic revolutions carried out by workers and toilers of all nationalities in all countries among which Kurdistan is divided. One of the most important tasks of these revolutions will be the solution of national question in the country. By this we mean the creation of conditions under which the Kurdish nation wil be able to use its right to secede freely. In the long run, the solution would be a Union of Soviet Socialist Middle East Republics.

The present situation makes this objective seem like a very distant objective. But this does not alter the fact that this is the only correct objective.

Communist organizations in the region are very weak; workers' and toilers' movements are essentially under the control of the ruling classes, they are developing within the system boundaries.

The toiling masses are moved not so much by anti-imperialist/democratic revolutionary demands as by reformist, nationalist and religious demands. Reformism, chauvinist nationalism and clericalism dominate. Moreover, chauvinism and clericalism are the developing trends. The ruling classes take advantage of the antipathy of people to Western imperialist powers to gather them under the flag of chauvinism and clericalism.

For sure, this will not be of long duration, and a genuine anti-imperialist/democratic revolution will again become an alternative for the broad masses of workers, peasants and toilers. Our task is to carry consciousness into the masses in this direction, to organize, organize, and organize!

With our best wishes for your struggle,
Bolshevik salutes!

PS: In your letter..., you write:

"Historically, British, French and US imperialism has artificially made up the Arab-Jewish conflict, established the "state" of Israel, brought about successive wars in the Middle East and played with "peace" game, only with the aim of dominating the peoples and controlling the oil resources in the region."

We do not agree with this sentence as it stands here.

First of all, it does not fit in with historical facts when the establishment of the state of Israel is presented more or less as a "plot" of British, French and US imperialism. The establishment of the state of Israel is the outcome of a certain process. At the beginning of this process stood the anti-Semitic attacks

against the Jews, the Jewish pogroms in various countries of Europe. At a certain stage of this process stood the transformation –in the person of German Nazism– of these pogroms into a program for the extinction of all Jews (Endlösung = Final Solution), and the implementation of this program. Without pointing to this historical background, one cannot grasp the heavy Jewish immigration to Palestine during and after the World War Two. And precisely this historical background moved the then socialist Soviet Union to take a positive stand towards the establishment of the state of Israel.

Secondly, it is not entirely true that the Arab-Jewish conflict has been artificially made up. There is a conflict of interests between the Jews who immigrate to Palestine and the Arab population inhabiting those lands. The question of who is going to own these lands to which extent has clearly furnished the material basis for this conflict of interests. Ideologically and politically, Zionism on the part of the Jews, which considers the whole of Palestine as "Promised Land" and foresees slavery for the Arab population at best, and anti-Semitism and chauvinist nationalism on the part of the Arabs, which does not want to see even one Jew on Palestine soil, formed the basis of the conflict. Imperialists instigated these conflicts and utilized them. But the conflicts are not artificial.

For a Principled Unity — Open and Public Ideological Struggle

World Communism is presently experiencing one of its weakest and most difficult phases in history. ***On the one hand*** the objective conditions for the proletarian revolution both worldwide and in each individual country are so ripe as never before. Imperialism has expanded its reign of exploitation right up to the most remote corners of the world.

A small minority of exploiters and the great mankind consisting of thousands of millions of toilers stand face to face. The productive forces have developed to such an extent that when they are used correctly, hunger, poverty etc. could be abolished worldwide. The material conditions for socialism-Communism have ripened so far as never before.

But on the other hand, as far as the subjective conditions for revolution are concerned, the situation is not so encouraging. On the ideological plane counter-revolution is prevailing. The classes and layers which are really the subject of the revolution, do not in general comprehend –if we leave aside a small minority– the revolution as solution of their problems. The masses of working people do not acknowledge socialism-Communism as the only real alternative to the current exploitative society.

Against the present bourgeois democracy, which has become more and more reactionary and undergoes a fascisation in different countries, there is a mass opposition only from political groups which offer a still more reactionary alternative to the current society, which are still more nationalistic-minded, still more chauvinistic, racist and fundamentalist. Opposing sections of the working masses tend sooner to these movements than to socialism.

Here, the developments in the Soviet Union which, after the revisionists completely took over political power in 1956, degenerated more and more and gradually developed into a social-fascist and social-imperialist force controlling the "Eastern Block", naturally play a decisive role. Both the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists were united in passing off the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block as socialist. While the imperialists pursued the goal of slandering socialism, the revisionists wanted to cheat the working class and toilers in their own countries and worldwide to remain in power.

At any rate, from the point of view of the masses, from the point of view of workers and toilers, the Soviet Union and the so-called Eastern Block were socialist.

The years in which socialism began to stop being an alternative for the broad masses were the seventies and the eighties, during which they saw that what was being done in the name of Socialism was practically not different from the West.

The existence of China and Albania claiming to defend socialism against revisionism was not sufficient to change this general picture to its opposite, either. Over and above this, revisionism gained the upper hand in these states too as time went by. Successive collapse of the revisionist systems in the Soviet Union and the surrounding states at the end of the eighties was reflected into the consciousness of the masses as the "collapse of socialism".

For the broad masses standing under the ideological bombardment of the bourgeoisie the "socialist system" standing in competition with Western capitalism had collapsed. This defunct system had no advantages whatsoever for the toilers and workers over what they experienced in the West. After the "collapse of socialism", "western liberal-democratic system" had proven (!) as the superior system in competition of systems.

And now we are living at a time where this assessment is prevalent.

This is one aspect of the reality which we express with the statement that "world Communism is experiencing one of its weakest and most difficult phases". Another aspect of this reality is that, despite all the negative circumstances, today there are still parties and organizations not giving up –when only verbally– the goal of socialism/Communism, claiming to defend socialism/Communism and also organizing themselves on this basis.

Among those which have a real mass influence, we can count the parties in power in North Korea, China, Cuba and Vietnam. But the politics they conduct in the name of socialism has nothing to do with socialism.

Besides these there are still modern-revisionist parties with mass influence in the states where revisionism was in power. For example, there are such parties in Russia, Poland and the former German Democratic Republic. These parties are socialist in name, but bourgeois in reality. Their programs are social-democratic. The old revisionist parties in the West with mass influence have been representing a social-democratic line since decades anyhow. Since the so-called "collapse of socialism" they "purged" socialism from their name as well.

When we speak of world Communism, the above named parties and groups naturally do not belong to it. Generally speaking, we must take a look at the forces other than the modern revisionist counter-revolutionaries. World Communism is represented by a part of these forces. When we approach the problem this way, we can state the following:

* Looking at it on a worldwide basis, the organisations (with a few exceptions) talking in the name of Communism, Marxism-Leninism are, compared with and measured by their claim to change the world, very weak. Their organisational ties with the subject of the revolution, the working class, are also very weak.

* In the relatively strong organizations among them, diseases like nationalism, spontaneism, personality cult, tribal forms of organization, reformism and legalism are prevalent.

* Today there is no movement embodying a unity on the basis of a common program, one which could be marked as the World Communist Movement.

In the past the World Communist Movement had a common program and a common organization in the Third International. Each of the communist parties in individual countries grasped itself practically as part of the single world party.

After the dissolution of Comintern in 1943 its program for the proletarian world revolution was the common program and programmatic basis of all Communist parties in individual countries as well.

Later the Cominform tried to give the World Communist Movement a new organizational form. But these attempts succumbed after the revisionists took over power in the Soviet Union. The Cominform was dissolved by the revisionists.

After that the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union tried to transform their own line into the line of the World Communist Movement by organizing "International Conferences of Communist and Worker's Parties". The larger part of the World Communist Movement endorsed the modern-revisionist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In this way the old strong World Communist Movement became bourgeoisiefied and turned into a modern-revisionist movement.

After 1960 the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) stayed away from the above named conferences which degenerated into festivals of self-aggrandizement for the revisionists.

In 1963, in its ***"Proposal for the General Line of the Internanonal Communist Movement"***, the CPC submitted its line on the questions of the World Communist Movement.

Had this proposal been understood by the Marxist-Leninists really only as a proposal, discussed fully, and its errors corrected, there would have been the possibility of developing this proposal into a programmatic basis on which the World Communist Movement could re-unite. Alas it has not come that way.

The CPC, leading the struggle against modern revisionist degeneration, and the PLA, supporting the CPC in this struggle, were not able to realize the mission of restoring the World Communist Movement expected from them. Finally these parties degenerated as well. A strong World Communist Movement could not be formed as an alternative to the treachery of modern revisionism. Communist forces in each country were forced to fight without a collectively worked out program and an intermational organization resting on this program.

* In the present situation it is an urgent task for the Communist forces the world over to create the World Communist Movement anew. No Communist should place this task behind the task of "revolution in one's own country" or postpone to a time after it. That would be a nationalistic conduct that does not grasp the "revolution in one's own country" as a ***part*** of the proletarian world revolution.

Creating the World Communist Movement anew means tracking down the really Communist forces in each country fighting independently of each other, or in some cases even knowing nothing of each other, working out a common program on the basis of common discussions, and on the basis of this common program creating a common organisation which also establishes the unity of action worldwide. The goal is an organization like the Comintern.

* Presently, many organisations and groups which we consider also in part as potential members of the World Communist Movement to be created, organize conferences to create the "international unity of Marxist-Leninists" and participate in such conferences. Moreover there are also conferences organized for creating an "anti-imperialist unity", since conditions for the international unity of Marxist-Leninists were not given under present circumstances.

We Bolsheviks from Turkey-North Kurdistan participate in these conferences to the best of our ability to propagate our views, get to know the forces represented there and get on closer terms with them in the process of ideological struggle.

However, there is a ***methodological error*** in these relationships which, in our opinion, represents one of the biggest obstacles on the way to the creation of the World Communist Movement. It concerns the approach to the question of how the ideological struggle should be waged.

The overwhelming majority of the allegedly Marxist-Leninist groups wanting to create the unity of the Marxist-Leninists (or the anti-imperialist unity), refuse to carry out an open ideological struggle in public, naming individual groups by name.

The reason they give is that the already weak unity as it is will be weakened still more. But in doing so, they give up one of the most important methodological demands of Marxism-Leninism, the ***principle of open and public ideological struggle,*** and it is replaced with the bourgeois principle of "not washing one's dirty linen in public", with the bourgeois principle of concealing the differences of opinion and hiding them behind closed doors; the principle of combatting errors openly is replaced with bourgeois diplomacy.

Why is open and public ideological struggle a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism? Because only in this way is it possible to inform the working class and the toiling masses, which are the subject of the revolution, right from the beginning about the existing differences of opinion, only in this way can they participate, on the basis of documents, in the ideological struggle over the differences of opinion. The masses are educated by the ideological struggle over the differences of opinion and can thus select consciously between right and wrong.

The principle of open and public ideological struggle is the logical conclusion from the fact that the working class and the toiling masses are the subject of the revolution, that revolution is impossible without educating and organising them on the basis of socialist consciousness. For someone who wants to educate the working class and the toiling masses, there can be no logical grounds for concealing the differences of opinion and "settling" them behind closed doors. If there are differences of opinion and contradictions, and there are, it is not right to hide them from the masses. The pretence of an apparently unshakable unity without contradictions did afflict a heavy damage on the World Communist Movement in the past.

What prevails today?

The differences of opinion within the groups or parties themselves or among different groups are not carried out into the open so long as these groups are not yet enemies, so long as they have not yet split, even when these differen-

ces of opinion concern matters of prime importance and principle, and are kept in a small circle within the group itself or among these groups. The "outsiders" learn what these differences of opinion are only after the groups split and declare themselves reciprocally to enemies.

Thus sympathisers of revolution or organization are forced to hold to certain "teams", so to speak, since they have not joined in the process of discussion themselves. Thus the possibility of avoiding unnecessary splits is abolished, the masses are prevented from participating and engaging in ideological struggle actively.

The idea that open and public ideological struggle is waged only among enemies, leads to perceiving every open polemic as enmity, and plays a role of preventing the organisations from taking over correct criticisms levelled against them. For according to the prevailing opinion, open and public criticism is *a priori* animosity!

Generally it is so that when the differences of opinion and contradictions intensify and cannot be hidden anymore, one goes over to waging a public polemic against certain ideas, without, however, naming the addressee openly. Generally, these groups, persons etc. are named and the ideological struggle is waged openly and publicly only when the respective groups, persons etc. have been declared to enemies. This is an absolutely wrong approach!

To show how earnest the present situation is, here is an example:

One of the groups with the claim to bring about the unity of Marxist- Leninists, calls itself the ***"International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations"***. In the documents published by the 4th Conference of this grouping in April 1994, the following rule is set up as one of the conditions whose acceptance is at the same time a precondition for participation in further conferences: *"d) Gradual accomplishment of unity; no public discussion between the parties and organizations and no public criticism or attack of a party or organization against another."*

Here the participatory organizations are clearly prohibited from criticizing each other in public. In the sentence forbidding public criticism, after criticism the word ***"attack"*** is inserted. In a situation where criticism is not understood as a means that helps overcome errors, but as attack, this word is really superfluous. To emphasize it once more: What is being forbidden here is every public criticism in general.

Following organizations put their signatures under this rule: *Marxist-Leninist Organization of Afghanistan • Revolutionary Communist Party of Argen-*

tina (PCR) • Workers Party of Bangladesh • Communist Organization of Luxemburg (KOL) • Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninists) • Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Dawn) of Netherlands (GML) • Communist Workers Party of Norway • Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja) • Communist Party of the Philippines • Communist Union of Spain (UCE) • Nucleus of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay • Workers Party of Yugoslavia • Revolutionary Organization of Zaire.

It is a fact that, among the organizations signing this rule and other documents of the conference, there are also important disagreements. And there is nothing to conceal, there is nothing to fear in this. The correct approach would be to pick out the most important ones among these differences of opinion and organize an open and public ideological struggle over these.

Open and public ideological struggle is not – as many think – a hostile attack, but the struggle for the right thing. Only in such a struggle can the right thing assert itself, can revolutionaries in and around organisations reconsider their views in ideological struggle with other alternatives and educate themselves, and only then can a gradual unification take place. All other plans lead only to pretending a non-existent unity.

What is fact today?

The fact is, the World Communist Movement has no common platform today that came into existence through collective discussion of communist organisations. In the lack of such platform, each organization sets up its own criteria of what constitutes a Marxist-Leninist party. A common definition of "who is Marxist-Leninist?" can be won only in the course of time on the basis of an ideological struggle waged in public.

Thus it emerges that open and public ideological struggle must be one of the fundamental prerequisites in all attempts to establish the unity of the World Marxist-Leninist Movement again.

Each attempt departing from this principle in the name of unity is in reality a blow dealt against unity. A unity which transfers the ideological struggle to behind closed doors is in itself a rotten unity condemned to failure, even if it gives itself the look of firmness. The unity of Marxist-Leninists can not be realized on the basis of this revisionist method.

Why do we call the transfer of ideological struggle to behind closed doors revisionist? We call it revisionist, because open and public ideological struggle has always and at all times been the fright of the revisionists.

During the time of the First International Marx and Engels criticized the currents which appeared in the name of socialism openly and in public. Marxism prevailed over the other directions in socialism first in open and public struggle. ***"Communist Manifesto"***, the first fundamental programmatic document of Communism, is an example for it.

In this connection the objection can be made that "we are not discussing with currents hostile to Marxism, but among Marxist-Leninists".

Marx and Engels continued to take the same stand after Marxism had prevailed over the other socialist currents also, and criticized the errors of their own comrades openly and publicly. Critiques of the Gotha and Erfurt programs are the best examples for it. That the critique of the Gotha program was published first thirteen years later in the party press, happened against the will of Marx and Engels.

The polemics Lenin waged within the Second International and the RSDLP are also such open and public polemics. In all his works, whether in ***"One Step Forward, Two Steps Back"*** or in ***"What Is To Be Done?"*** or in ***"Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution"*** etc., he always waged an open and public struggle against errors although these errors were made *in* part personally by his party comrades.

Lenin's struggle for the establishment of the Bolshevik Party and the Third International rests methodologically on the ***principle of open and public ideological struggle.*** Take Lenin's conduct during the Zimmerwald Conferences: While signing the Zimmerwald statements in the name of the party, he also made it a condition to reproduce the criticisms he brought to the errors in the statements. We should take this conduct of Lenin as our example. Diametrically opposite to that of Lenin is the stand taken by people like Bernstein, Kautsky etc., who concealed the "differences of opinion among friends". Such is the conduct of Marxism-Leninism and of revisionism.

The Third International was not founded on the principle of concealing the differences of opinion but on the principle of open and public ideological struggle, and it remained faithful to this principle from its founding till its dissolution. Open and public discussions conducted in the press organs of the Comintern are clear examples for it.

Lenin's work ***"'Left-Wing' Communism - An Infantile Disorder"*** is from beginning to end a polemic against the "Lefts" within the Comintern. Stalin brought forward many open and public criticisms on the Communist Parties

of Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The addressees of these criticisms were no "enemies", but Communists organized within the same party.

Unfortunately these fundamental approaches of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern became forgotten or were made forgotten after the takeover of power by modern revisionists, and the revisionist norms of relations were imposed on the World Communist Movement in the name of Marxism-Leninism.

In the statements of 1957 and 1960 the "methods of reaching common consent through bilateral negotiations" and "through negotiations among party leaders" were fixed as Marxist-Leninist norms of relations between parties.

Here is not even a trace left from the principle of development of the World Communist Movement, from the principle of open and public ideological struggle. Here *"reaching consent"* was transformed into the norm. Should there, however, be a point where one might achieve no consent, there should count the vote of "big brother". This was in fact laid down in the same documents by stating that *"the Communist and Workers' Parties agree unanimously that the CPSU is the leader of the World Communist Movement and it will always remain so, that it is the most experienced and most stable part of the Communist movement"*.

It is clear that this has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism, and that these principles were laid down to establish the revisionist domination. Unfortunately parties like the CPC and the PLA also signed these documents. Even if the CPC and the PLA later criticised the CPSU openly by name, this happened at a time where the CPSU had already passed over to attacking these parties directly and by name. And, worse still, the CPC continued to defend this stand of leaving the initiative in the ideological stmggle to revisionism as a correct stand in the polemic article *"The Source and Development of the Differences Between the CPSU Leadership and Us"*.

Undoubtedly there is a connection between the wrong procedures in the method of ideological struggle of many present parties speaking in the name of Marxism-Leninism and allegedly defending Mao Zedong Thought, and the errors made in the past in the struggle against modern revisionism – in the form of continuation of these errors under present conditions. We think it is high time to cast away these errors fundamentally. Concealment of the differences of opinion always served only the revisionists, never the Marxist-Leninists.

Our appeal to all Marxist-Leninists is:

– Reject the norms of relationship imposed on the World Communist Movement by the revisionists, and the theory and practice of concealing the differences of opinion.

– Open and public ideological struggle should not be an obstacle to united action and mutual support and solidarity.

– Open and public ideological struggle is the only correct method of establishing ideological and organizational unity.

– One of the objections to the principle of open and public ideological struggle is that *"a political organization in struggle can not afford the luxury of discussing everything openly"*. This objection is valid only in cases where discussion is an obstacle to united action. And indeed, under the present circumstances, the discussion plays a role of complicating or even making united action impossible, since the masses are educated in the spirit of discussing controversely only with the enemy.

In this connection the task consists in taking the preliminary steps towards and proving in practice that discussions are no obstacle to united action.

When many organizations, criticising each other openly and publicly, would still accomplish and coordinate common actions etc., this would have an influence on overcoming the present deplorable state of affairs.

Secondly, we should not forget that Communist parties are no discussion clubs, but organisations of struggle. The principle of open and public ideological struggle is naturally no call to discussing everything without distinguishing the important from the unimportant. It is not an appeal to call into question again and again that which has been discussed and turned into a line after collective discussions. It is not an appeal to discussing the decision of action already adopted and to be accomplished during the action, and thus to weakening the action. In particular, it is not an appeal to discussing the concrete organizational questions of a conspiratorial organization openly in public.

No, the appeal for an open and public ideological struggle is an appeal not to conceal the differences of opinion which appear while working out the common political line in fundamental questions, and the differences of opinion in fundamental questions, but to wage a discussion about these questions also openly, by naming names and in public. ***October 1, 1996***

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BARBARISM
OR SOCIALISM!

YA BARBARLIK,
YA SOSYALİZM!

YAN BARBARÎ,
YAN SOSYALÎZM!

Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan - Turkey) Held its Sixth Congress Successfully!

21ST CENTURY WILL BE THE CENTURY OF BOLSHEVISM!

ORGANIZE IN
BOLSHEVIK RANKS
AGAINST IMPERIALIST
BARBARISM!